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Treadwell·Elizabeth·Phillips·Kirstein·



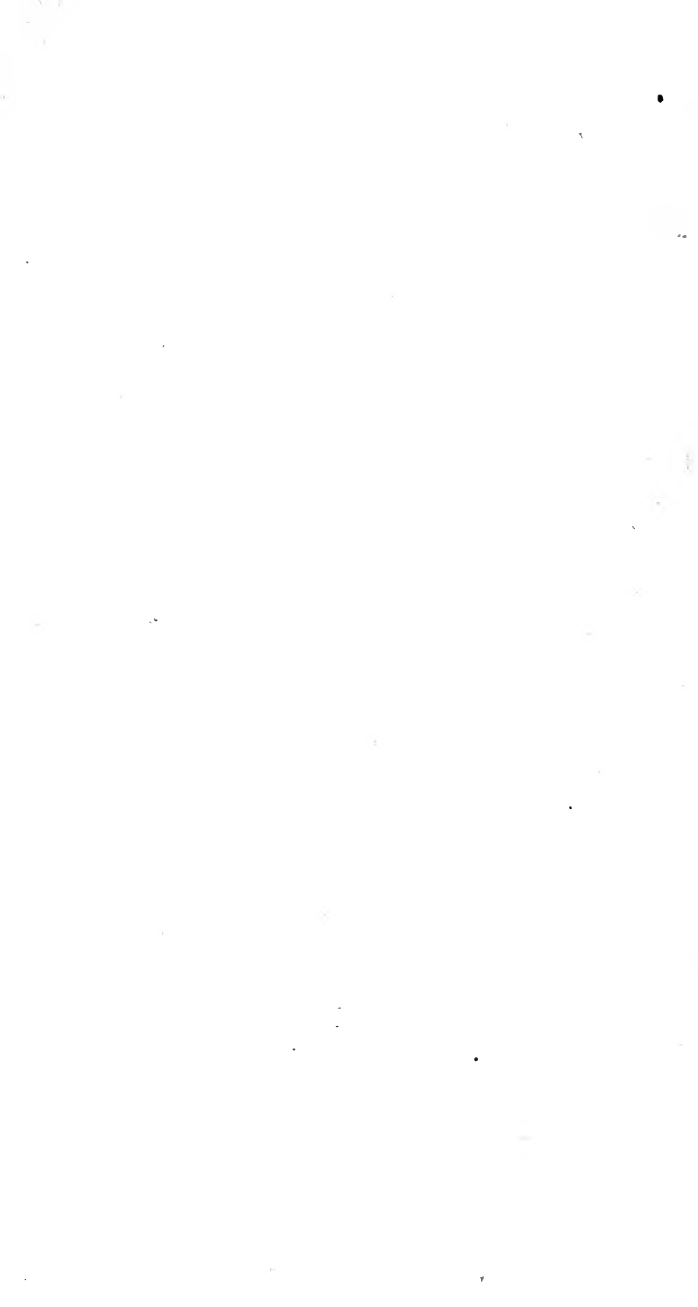
THE
WILLIAM P. TRENT COLLECTION
WORKS RELATING TO
DANIEL DEFOE
AND HIS TIME
▼
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THE HISTORY OF THE PRESS-YARD:

Or, a Brief
ACCOUNT of the Customs and
Occurrences that are put in Practice,
and to be met with in that Antient Re-
pository of Living Bodies, called, His
Majesty's Goal of *NEWGATE* in *Lon-*
don: Wherein, besides several Descri-
ptions and Characters never before made
Publick, are inserted,

- I. The History of the Unfortunate *Florimel*, one of the State Prisoners that has been Confin'd their upwards of Twenty one Years.
- II. An Interview with the Ordinary: The Manner of his Turning Confessor, and the Method used by him in that Office.
- III. The Manner of the Reception of the Prisoners from *Preston* there.
- IV. Young Mr. *Botairs* Account of the Action between the King's Troops and the Rebels; with the true Causes of their Surrender.
- V. The Escape of Mr. *Foxster*; the Demeanour of Col. *Oxburgh* and Mr. *Gascoigne*, as also of Mr. *Paul* and Mr. *Hall* after Sentence of Death; with several Original Letters from them, relating to the Crimes for which they suffer'd, to the Dukes of *Marlborough*, *Argyle*, &c. Likewise one from Sir *H—B—* to Mr. *Gascoigne*.
- VI. The Utiage and Sicknefs of Mr. *Francis* the Jew; The Escapes of Mr. *Radcliffe*, Mr. *Budden*, and Mr. *George Flint*: The Releasement of the Author; and other Original Letters sent to a Noble *English* Peer, relating to the Hardships the *Preston* Prisoners labour'd under.



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T H E



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Pres-yard, &c.

The INTRODUCTION.

IT having been thought of Importance enough to give the World a Translation of *M. Constantin de Reneville's* History of the *Bastile*, from the *French* Original, the Writer of this has the Vanity to persuade himself, that an Account of our *English* Prison for Commitments of State may not be unacceptable to the Curious, especially since He is equally entitled, with that Author, to the Readers

Belief, from the Knowledge of the Place, by a Confinement therein for several Months.

Be it sufficient therefore for the Information of the Inquisitive, that they are told this Repository of Unfortunate Men, This Tomb of the Living, was once the *Phenix-Inn* by *Newgate-street*, and being contiguous to the Goal of that Name, and very convenient for enlarging the Territories of one of its Keepers of Tyrannical Memory, was added to it in the Times of *Usurpation*; when our very Churches were made Prisons of, and those that were in them, could not breath so freely for want of Room, as now they may, when we are at *Liberty* either to stay out, or go into them.

Various and Multiform Reasons are assign'd for calling this *Mansion of the Miserable* the *PRESS-TARD*: The Grave part of Mankind, who are averse to Ludicrous and Trifling Explanations, say it goes by that Name, from a *Machine* that is laid up there call'd the *PRESS*, whereupon such Criminals as will not Plead to their Indictments are fasten'd, and loaden gradually with Weight after Weight on their Stomachs, till they either are brought to a Compliance, or expire under the Insupportable Burthen they are oblig'd to bear on account of their Obstinacy. But others who give themselves Airs of greater Freedom, and are less serious in Etymologies of this

this Nature, say, That it has its Radix, according to the *Greeks*, from its being the *House of Oppression*; which last Opinion I am apt to close in with, and so, without Question, will my courteous Readers too, when they are given to understand, That after the Entrance Fee, which has been of late Years fix'd to Twenty Guineas, for the Liberty of having Room enough for two or three to walk in a Breast: The Gentlemen admitted here, are under a Necessity of paying Eleven Shillings each, *per Week*, tho' Two, sometimes Three, lie in a Bed, and some Chambers have three or four Beds in them, contrary to several Acts of Parliament, which Oblige the Keepers of the Respective Prisons, to extort no more than Half-a-Crown *per Week* for the Rent of every Chamber. The Salvo for this unprecedented usage is, That the *PRESS-YARD* being no part of the Prison, but taken in as a part of the *Governor's House*, (for this Haughty Commander in Chief, over naked and defenceless Men, is styl'd by the same Name, as the Constable of the Tower) it is in the Keeper's Breast to refuse any Prisoner a Reception there without a Conditional Præmium, who is at Liberty either to give it, or take up his Abode in the Common Goal, where you are to have Thieves and Villains for your Associates, and to be perpetually Tormented and Eat up by Distempers and Vermin.

C H A P. I.

Of the Author's Imprisonment, &c.

NOW it being my Misfortune, amongst other Brethren of the Quill, to be caught Tripping, in Censuring the Conduct of my Superiors, and to fall under the Displeasure of the Government, for pretending to be displeas'd at their Proceedings, I was judg'd so little worthy of being maintain'd at 6 s. and 8 d. per Day in the Messengers Hands at the King's Expence, That, after I had been indulg'd that Favour some Weeks, I was very decently Conducted in a Coach to the Place of my future Residence called *Newgate*, there to reflect with my self on my past Indiscretion, and to cool my Heels, till the Act for suspending the *Habeas Corpus* Act for a certain Time should be out of Force. It is easie to be judg'd that my Countenance was none of the pleasantest, when I found my self in the Lodge, encompass'd by a parcel of ill look'd Fellows, that ey'd me, as if they would look me through, and examin'd every part of me from Head to Toe, not as Taylours to take Measure of me, but as Foot-Pads that Survey the goodness of the Clothes first, before they grow intimate with the Linings, and uncase the Travellers from the Incumbrance of them.

Quoth

Quoth a Fellow with the most rueful Appearance that ever Creature with two Legs ever made, to his Doxy, that I understood was a Runner upon all Necessary occasions of the Goal, *DOL, We shall have a Hot Supper to Night, the Cull looks as if he had the Blunt, and I must come in for a share of it, after my few Masters have done with him,* and began to Rattle a Bunch of Keys in his Hand, to call for Half a Pint of Brandy to drink his new Master's Health; which was immediately brought by a short thick Protuberance of Female Flesh, not less than five Yards in the Waist, and sent down Gutter-Lane instantly (as well it might) being little more than the quantity of Half a Quartern. Madam, said I to her, for I found the Beast had that Appellation given to her, Which are the Persons that are to take care of me? *Bring the Gentleman a Flask of the best Claret, that which Mr. Kent sent in last, quick, quick, Sirrah,* was all the Answer I could have from her. Whereupon I repeated my Question, and desired her to oblige me, which she did in a Bumper, and reply'd, *A Bottle of French White for the Gentleman. You shall have it, Sir, as good as any in England, take the Word of an honest Woman for it.* Now this *Honest Woman*, as I was afterwards told, was an old convicted Offender, one that had gone through every Degree of Iniquity, and by receiving Sentence of Death for the same,

was

was arriv'd at the Zenith of Perfection in that Art and Mistry. Heavens, cry'd I to my self, *How justly am I punish'd for the Sins of my Youth, in this Execrable Conversation!* while all Hands were at Work in putting the Glas round, for the good of the House, as they call'd it, and six or seven Flasks were consumed after this manner, and the value of as much more in Brandy, which was all paid down upon the Nail for, before I could get the Woman, or Monster above mention'd, to tell me what Appartment I was to have my Abode in; and then she took upon her to whisper me, and say, *Dear Sir, you seem to be a very Civil Gentleman, and will no doubt be Treated as such by Mr. R—se, and Mr. R—I, who know how to distinguish Persons of Worth from Soundrels.* I gave her a Hearing, and thank'd her with a Bow, but neither of those Men of Compassion at that juncture came near me.

In the mean time this pair of Irons, and that pair of Fetters, were handed about from one to the other behind me, and I had the mortification of being Terrified with, *a Pair of Forty Pounds Weight will be enough for him,* spoke by way of Wisper, *We ought to send to the Governour to know whether he is to be Hand-Cuff'd.* This made me ready to enter into a Treaty by way of Prevention and again to enquire for the Persons who had Authority to manage it, which one of

two sly Thieves about me, laying hold of, insinuated to me that it was in their Power to make an Interest as to my Irons, and that upon such and such Considerations they would serve me. Hereupon I, without any Hesitation, thrust the Purport of their Argument into their Hands, but found it very indifferently bestow'd from the Consequence of it; for instead of a Handsome Appartment which I was made to hope for through their suggestions, after I had been cajol'd into a Belief of all possible Civilities, by my Fat Tunbellied Hostess, who applauded me for the Tallness of my shape, that bore a great Resemblance to that of a late humble Servant of hers, I was conducted to the Door leading out of the Lodge into the Condemn'd Hold, where they told me I must stay till their Masters further pleasure should be known, for they could go no further than the easing me of Irons, which they did not know but they might have Anger for, by Reason of the Capital-ess of the Crime whereof I stood accus'd.

C H A P. II.

A Description of the Condemn'd-Hold, with the Manner of the Author's Deliverance from it, and his Admittance into the Press-Yard.

THE Condemn'd-Hold, falsely suppos'd to be a noisome Vault under-ground, lies between the Top and Bottom of the Arch under *Newgate*, from whence there darts in some Glimmerings of Light, tho' very imperfect, by which you may know that you are in a dark, Opace, wild Room. By the Help of a Candle, which you must pay through the Nose for, before it will be handed to you over the Hatch, your Eyes will lead you to boarded Places, like those that are rais'd in Barracks, whereon you may repose your self if your Nose will suffer you to rest, from the Stench that diffuses its noisome Particles of bad Air from every Corner. If you look up, you see the Order of Nature inverted, by having the Common-side Cellar over you, or if you cast your Eyes downward, all Things are equally surprising and unnatural: Here lie Chains affix'd to Hooks, and there Iron Staples are driven into the Ground to bring those to a due Submission that are Stubborn and Unruly. The Walls and the Floor are all of Stone

and

and bear a Resemblance to the Hearts of those that place you there, so that I may aptly be suppos'd to be seiz'd with a Pannick Dread at the Survey of this my new Tenement, and to be very willing to change it for another, almost upon any Terms.

As this was the Design of my being brought hither, so I was made appriz'd of that Intent by an unexpected Method: For I had not bewailed my Condition more than half an Hour, before I heard a Voice from above, crying out from a Board taken out of my Ceiling, which was the Speaker's Floor, ' Sir, I understand that
' your Name is ———, and that you
' are a Gentleman too well Educated to
' take up your Abode in a Vault set apart
' only for Theives, Parricides, and Mur-
' therers. From thence Criminals, after
' Sentence of Death, are carried to the
' Place of Execution, and from thence you
' may be removed to a Chamber equal
' to one in any private House, where you
' may be furnished with the best Conver-
' sation and Entertainment, upon a va-
' luable Consideration.' To this he ad-
ded, ' That what he spoke was entirely
' out of good Will ; That he was a Pri-
' soner as I was, had suffer'd himself after
' the same Manner, and had paid such a
' Sum to be removed to better Quarters,
' which he thank'd God he enjoyed then

‘ to his Hearts Content, wanting for nothing that a Goal could afford him.’ I gave implicit Belief to the Rascal (for I understood since, that he was nothing else but one of the Waiters who had before Pocketed my Money) and being told the Conditions of Admission to the *Press-Yard*, desired my pretended Friend so to bring it about, that I might Contract with the proper Officer as soon as possible. He promised that he would immediately give Notice; and in pursuance of his Word, about a quarter of an Hour after, Clang went the Chain of my Door and Bolts, and in comes a Gentlemanlike Man to me, of a very smiling Aspect, who told me, that he was extremely sorry for my ill Treatment by Reason of his being out of the Way; That it was far from being in his Nature to use Gentlemen after an unhandsome Manner, and those who flung me into that Place should be Trowned for it: He moreover excused the want of suitable Entertainment for Persons of Condition and Character in Prison-Houses, and assured me that I should be instantly conducted to the Governor’s House, who would take all imaginable Care of my Reception. After this, he very kindly took me by the Hand to lead me down again into the Lodge, which I rightly apprehended as a Motion to feel my Pulse, and therefore made use of the Opportunity

to clap Two Pieces, which he let my Hand go, to have a fast Grasp of in his.

Having thus taken our Seats round the Table at the upper part of the Lodge again, and been accosted by the fat Hostess, who enquired what we would be pleas'd to drink? We gave our Service to one another in a Glass of Wine, after the Head Turnkey, for that was the Person I had now to deal with, had rallied his Mirmidons (none of which were the Rogues that had taken my Money, and were invisible) for making no Difference between a Gentleman of my Appearance, and a common Offender, and Moll S——ng had protested, she did all that was in the Power of Woman to do, to perswade those Rascals, *Tuner* and another, whose Name I forget, to let the worthy Gentleman stay in the Lodge till Mr. R——se should return from the Secretary's Office, because she knew him to be possess'd of such Humanity, as to accommodate him with proper Conveniences. All this was nothing else but mere Cant; howsoever I was obliged to give Ear to it, and to believe that the Governor could not allow me a Habitation in his House, for so the *Press-Yard* was called, under Twenty Guineas in Hand, and Eleven Shillings afterwards *per* Week, by Reason of his paying Five Thousand Pound for the Purchase. Accordingly having told down the Sum, and received a very sweaty Kiss

from that Mountain of Courtesy, the above-mention'd Tap-Woman, who made her Complaints of Mr. R—*ſe* with a great deal of ſham Regret for Robbing her of one of her beſt Customers, I follow'd my Guide through *Phœnix-Court*, into the Governor's Houſe, where I had the Honour of ſaluting and taking a Dram of Arrack, with the Great Mr. *Pitt*, who as a mark of his Favourable Intentions to me, gave orders for furniſhing me a Bed with clean Sheets, after I had pay'd the Woman that brought them to my Garret of a Chamber in the *Preſs-yard*, whither I was ſoon after convey'd through a Door with a great Iron Chain to it, Five Shillings.

A Deſcription of the Preſs-yard, with the manner of the Author's Reception therein.

I was no ſooner let into this Enchanted Caſtle, but the Gentlemen that were Tenants of it, flock'd round me to take a view of their New unfortunate Companion: Some were Drinking with Friends, ſome Reading, others playing at Skettles, where there was ſcarce room to ſet up the Pins; and a fourth ſort were talking extravagantly of Politicks, and of the Progreſs their Friends made in the Inſurrections of *Northumberland* and *Scotland*. Amongſt the latter, a certain Militia Officer, that knew better how to Muſter Men, than Head them

them in an Engagement, declared, That to his certain knowledge, for he held a Correspondence with the Muster-Master General there, That the Earl of *Mar* was 50000 strong, and that General Forster's Army fell very little short of his. You tell Nofes, as I told Money, said a Whig Orange-Merchant, just before my Commitment for taking off Indorsements, altogether in Imagination! Why do they skulk away from Handfulls of the King's Troops then? No matter for that, replies the Captain, to the Tune of *the King shall enjoy his own again*, there are more ways to the Mill than one, We that are Practic'd in the Art of War, know how to harrafs our Enemies by Matches and Countermarches: I'll hold you the Price of to Morrow's Dinner, that the brave Lads now in *Northumberland*, will be here in *London* before *Christmas* next. That's not a fair Wager says th' other, since 'tis Forty to One, but the Chiefs of them are brought up hither by that Time, provided they dare to look his Majesty's Forces in the Face, who are gathering together from all Parts to Attack them. They would have pursued their Discourse, and for all that I know, the Military Man had made use of the Champion like Terms of Fool, and Blockhead, had not their Curiosity to be inform'd about me adjourn'd the Dispute till another season. But when I told them the true Reason of my Commit-

ment

ment thither, and that it was upon suspicion of being the Author of certain Criminal Pamphlets, most of them quickly left me, as supposing no Doubt that I was a common Scribler, and would prostitute my Pen for any Cause, for a valuable Consideration.

I was now at Liberty, in this House of Bondage, to contemplate my Condition, and looking round me, saw so much Portion of the Sky over us, as the breadth of our Limits gave us a sight of; and had the enjoyment of no other Prospect but what was afforded, *a solo ad Cælum*. Iron Bars, Huge grated Wooden Gates, Knots of Keys of two Pounds each, impress'd horrible Ideas in my mind, and I retir'd into one of the Boxes belonging to the Tapster there, if possible, to drive away the Conceptions they had left in it. Here it was that I summon'd all the Philosophy which I was Master of to my Assistance; for the Apathy of a Stoick was not more than sufficient, as I then thought, to comfort me, at that Juncture. *Lord, why is Man, thought I to my self, made after thy Image, if he is in this manner to be shut out from the survey of the Works of thy Creation? or why has thy Unlimited Goodness fashion'd him after thy own Likeness, if all his Motions are to be circumscrib'd with such narrow Bounds as extend no further than such a Definite space as this? Wherefore have Mankind Souls given them that have no End to their Extensiveness,*
if

they cannot Actuate the Body beyond Forty or fifty Foot? Or for what Reason have We Freedom of Will allotted us, if the Vehicle which is to be guided by that Will can have no further Room to turn it self in than this poor little Plot of Ground? I had gone on with my Exostulations, which savour'd more of Prophaneness than Religion, had not an Innocent, well meaning sort of a Fellow, whom I took to be a Servant of the House, diverted me from those Thoughts, by telling me, that under my unhappy Circumstances I had the Choice of Associating my self with Men of Sense and Capacity, and that tho' he himself wanted Letters and a Liberal Education, he could furnish me with a Gentleman of no Common Abilities, who, from a long Experience of the Methods and Customs of the Goal, could direct me in my Behaviour there. I gave my Thanks to the Honest Man, and hearing that he was *George* the Cocker of *Highgate*, who had been Sentenced to be Whipp'd there by certain Justices, for Crimes which perhaps he had not the same Sense, as they of, and had that Sentence put in Execution with Imprisonment for Twelve Months, clap'd Six Pence in his Hand, in Recompence of which he was as good as his Word, by bringing the Gentleman abovemention'd to me. And truly nothing could have pleas'd me better, under the Circumstances I labour'd, than such agreeable Company.

C H A P. III.

Of the Customs put in Practice in the Press-yard, and very seasonable Cautions for the Behaviour of such as have the misfortune to be Prisoners in it; with a Hymn to Confinement.

THIS Excellent Person, for so he was whether we consider him in his Capacity of the most consummate Prudence the most perfect Resignation under unprecedented Afflictions, or the most unexceptionable Experience of the shifts and variations of Fortune, after accosting me with the wonted Methods of Salutation, craved Leave to tell me, ‘ That he perceiv’d from
 ‘ the Disturbance which was visible in my
 ‘ mind, how that I was a stranger to Confinement: That, he thank’d God, who by
 ‘ the means of a more than Twenty year
 ‘ Imprisonment, had given him an Opportunity of looking seriously into the Affairs
 ‘ of another World, he was much better
 ‘ thereby, and was more Easie and Compos’d
 ‘ in his Temper than before he came within
 ‘ those Walls; That the Time of my so
 ‘ journeying there would in all probability Expire with the Suspension Act; but he and
 ‘ four more of his Companions, had such an
 ‘ Act in Force against them as (he doubted)
 ‘ would never be repeal’d during their Life.

To this he added, ' That he and his Bre-
 ' thren were in a fair way of having their
 ' Liberty about Ten Years since, had not
 ' a very false one among them, who got
 ' his own Release, been guilty of indirect
 ' Practices, which he did not long sur-
 ' vive, tho' he obtain'd a Pension from the
 ' Earl of *Oxford* thereby, when Secretary
 ' of State, but that he was gone to his
 ' Place since, where he was to Account for
 ' that and all his other Sins, which he
 ' hoped God in his infinite Mercy had par-
 ' don'd him through a sincere Repentance,
 ' for he, and the rest who had suffer'd by
 ' his Information, had readily forgiven
 ' him. But of this more hereafter, when
 ' he should come to a more Large and
 ' Historical Account of their long Impri-
 ' sonment, both before and after their
 ' Commitment. *He likewise said,* It is in
 ' *Prisons* as in other Places, you here may
 ' furnish your self with good and bad
 ' Company ; here are those that will either
 ' Drink or Play with you, others that will
 ' Read and Converse with you after a
 ' more Edifying Manner, especially one,
 ' whose Genius in your own Way, has hap-
 ' pily recommended him to all Lovers of
 ' the Memory of the late Queen, for whom
 ' even we, who never acknowledge any o-
 ' ther Government than that of the late K.
 ' *James*, have, in Consideration of her being
 ' descended from him, the greatest Venera-
 ' tion.

' tion. But you shall see this excellent Per-
 ' son anon, and perhaps know him, when
 ' you shall be told he is the most wor-
 ' thy Author of the Caveat against the
 ' Whigs, and the reputed Writer of the
 ' Advice to *English* Freeholders; for the
 ' true Knowledge of whom, the Go-
 ' vernment had thought fit to make an
 ' Offer of a Thousand Pounds *Sterling*. For
 ' you will, according to Custom, about
 ' Seven or Eight of the Clock this Evening,
 ' be called upon to pay your Entrance-Fee,
 ' which formerly was only six Bottles of
 ' Wine, and Tobacco in proportion, but now
 ' is raised to Ten or Twelve, which if you
 ' are streighten'd for Money, will be scored
 ' at the Bar by the honest Tapster, who
 ' tho' he had lost several Hundred Pounds
 ' by that Method of Proceeding, is not
 ' discouraged from going on with it in
 ' Favour of unhappy Gentlemen.' Here-
 upon, I told him that I was not so ex-
 hausted, but had more than sufficient to dis-
 charge what the Cost of that would a-
 mount to, and continued my Discourse to
 him over a Pipe and Pot of Stout and Ale,
 for which I paid Six pence, till Notice was
 brought us by a Person in Grey Hairs, who
 then had the Keys of the *Press-yard*, that
 all Things were ready for our Evening's
 Refreshment, and that honest *Tom*, for that
 was the Name of our Sutler in the Garri-
 son, had carried the Bottles, Pipes, and
 Tobacco,

Tobacco, into our *Refectory*, called the *Tap-Room*. Here I, who was to be at the Charge of the Entertainment, was seated at the upper End of the Table, with these Gentlemen on each side of me, *viz.* the five Persons who were to be Imprison'd during his Majesty's Pleasure, the Officer of the Militia, the Orange Merchant, and the Author, who accosted me severally with all possible Civility, and indeed made the Hours pass over more agreeably than I could have expected in that Place. One of these Five was a Major, who had been in the Army so long as to be of the same standing with the Duke of *Marlborough*, and commanded over General *Mahoni*, now a great Officer in *Spain*, when he was an Ensign on the *Irish* Establishment. The second was a Gentleman, who being of the late King *James's* Horse-Guards, had distinguished himself by following his Master's Fortunes into *Ireland*, and abiding with him in all Difficulties till his Retreat out of that Kingdom. These two, had both Married since their Confinement, the one, tho' near Seventy, to a young Woman not much above Twenty, which was an Indication of his Vigour, he having been the Father of a Child by her, under the Pressure of his Misfortunes; the other of less advanced Years, to a Widow Gentlewoman of the like Age, who lived very comfortably with him. The one was in-

deed by Nature and Descent a most accomplished Person; the second by Improvement of very good Talents, was arrived at so great a Mastery in the Mathematicks, as to have very few Equals, much fewer Superiors. The third was a Man of Pleasure, who amidst all the Anxieties others labour'd under, had never been known to have entertain'd a melancholy Thought since his Entrance into the Goal, which was more than Twenty Years since. The fourth who was the Gentleman I had the before-mention'd Conversation with, had a Strength of Judgment equal to his Courage, and had read Men as well as Books, to such a Degree, as to furnish him with Abilities not only to demean himself with the greatest Wisdom and Penetration, but to instruct others in the Conduct of Life. The fifth, who was a *North-Britain*, as well as the second and fourth, through the Means of a Liberal Education, was very well vers'd in the Classics, and other polite Literature, and made appear, that tho' Fortune had not befriended him by permitting him the Enjoyment of his Liberty, she had been no Niggard in her Distributions of Qualifications, whereby he might be enabled to comfort himself under the Want of it. For he had been so far from laying them to Heart, that he had largely increas'd his Family since his coming to that Place, by an Addition of several

l Children. He had likewise serv'd in
 ing *James's* Time, but was the only Pro-
 stant among the Five, and upon that
 account, the greater Object of Compassion,
 which more when we come to the De-
 tail of their Case. As for the Militia Offi-
 cer, he behav'd as well as could be expected,
 and if he did not speak all the sensible
 things in the World, he made use of a
 great many good Natur'd ones, whereby
 we could not be improved, we were
 more than sufficiently diverted; for the O-
 range Merchant and he, so turn'd Oppo-
 nent and Respondent against each other,
 that he must be an Anchorite indeed who
 could abstain from Laughter during the
 Continuance of their Merriment. The Au-
 thor before-nam'd was the only Person who
 seem'd uneasy during the whole Conver-
 sation, which seem'd rather occasion'd
 from the two Antagonists want of Wit,
 than any want of Dispositions in him
 to be Easy under his Confinement; for
 at the Desire of my Friend, he read
 and gave me the following Verses, pre-
 tended to be written by a Friend of his,
 but supposed to be his own, which I take
 the Liberty of Publishing, for the Edifi-
 cation of the Curious.

AN ODE upon IMPRISONMENT.

I.

Hail blest'd Abode! Thou Mansion of Repose!
 O falsely stil'd the Seat of Humane Woes!
 By whose instructive Lessons we are taught,
 How to enlarge our Souls and set them free;
 How to be unconfin'd in Thought,
 And soar above Mankind's mistaken Liberty.

II.

Locks, Bolts, and Bars may strike upon the sight,
 With Objects terrible, to Mortal Eyes
 May carry with them a Surprise,
 But never can a guiltless Mind affright.
 Bright Innocence disdains
 The Force of Threatnings, and the Weight of
 Chains,
 As all the Insolence and all the Wrongs,
 Of Faction and Opprobrious Tongues,
 Add to its Energy and Worth,
 Raise up those Spirits which the Guilty sink,
 The more depress'd, the more they think.
 And give the noblest Contemplations Birth.

III.

O State of Life! that bring'st a nearer View
 Of Happiness which flies our Search and Care,
 That let'st us into Joys we never knew,

And

*and shew'st us what we've been, and what we are,
 What Praise is not thy Due?
 Thou art the Mistress, from whose Rules we learn
 Whom to Suspect, and whom to Trust;
 Thoa only to thy Pupils just,
 Tak'st them their Enemies and Friends discern;
 While, by thy Touchstone try'd
 The Strength of Oaths and Promises is found,
 And counterfeit Pretensions laid aside,
 Give way to Sterling Vows, for Standard Truth
 renown'd.*

IV.

*Welcome Confinement ! all the tedious Hours
 Which Criminals in conscious Sighs employ,
 And melt away in briny Showers
 If Tears shall wing themselves to me with Joy:
 Joy, that I by the best of Queens have stood,
 And dar'd to Vindicate the Stuart's Blood;
 'hat to the best of Churches I have pay'd
 The Duty which I owe,
 And spight of its too powerful Foe,
 The best of C——ns wept to see betray'd.*

V.

*Their's be the Sorrow, since the Crime is theirs,
 Whose Injuries provok'd my Pen,
 Amidst this Perturbation of Affairs,
 To right the best of Queens, of Churches, and
 of Men,*

Men,

*Men, whose Regard for Things Divine,
 Call'd every Blessing down
 Upon the People and the Crown,
 And made serener Days with Beams auspicious
 shine.*

VI.

*Not but their Wrongs a due Concern should move
 Even while the Muse contemns her own,
 And it's but Justice that her Love
 Should by her Tears be shewn.
 Take them ye Patriots whose Removal claims
 The Watry Tribute of her flowing Eyes,
 Which cannot give Supplies
 Enough to Mourn such venerable Names.
 O Great and Good
 Accept the briny Present she bestows,
 Though every Tear should be a Flood,
 If equal to her Griefs, proportion'd to her Woes*

VII.

*But why should I my lonesome Moments spend
 In Acts too mean for Innocence?
 Tears may give Heav'n Offence,
 Which ever will preserve what these defend.
 Rather, my Son, the blest Eusebia * cries
 Give the Almighty Praise,
 That could such bright Examples raise,
 To influence thy Soul, and tempt thine Eyes
 Wee;*

* The Church.

Weep not for them, but for a poison'd Land,
 Whose Taste is so deprav'd,
 They their own Happiness withstand,
 And labour to be Damn'd, detesting to be
 Sav'd.

VIII.

*And lo ! the Son his Parent's Voice obeys,
 Their bright Example tempts me from my
 Their bright Example gives Relief, (Grief,
 And Extasies of Joy within my Brest conveys ;
 As all transported with the dazzling Scene
 I see what others are, from what they've been :
 Even while I must Despair,
 Amidst this endless Circle of Delight,
 That ravishes my Sight,
 Of seeing others be, what these fam'd Heroes are.*

IX.

*Nor shall their Virtues be by me unsung,
 While Verse has Numbers, or the Muse a Tongue,
 While Heav'n provides Rewards above
 For Loyalty and Love,
 And does them Right that suffer Wrong.
 The more they are depress'd, the more they rise
 In the Affections of the Just,
 And Truth tho' unregarded must
 Attract the Reverence of our Hearts and Eyes.*

X.

*Honour consists not in a Post,
Nor stands in need of Varnish to set forth
Invaluable Worth:*

*Of Tinsel'd Greatness let the Vicious boast,
Obscurity does make it shine the most.*

*So Pictures take a Lustre from their Shade,
So Diamonds owe their Brightness to the Night,
And Gems in Darkness are display'd,
That always sparkle least, when most expos'd to
Light.*

XI.

*Nature, that's prone to the Pursuit of Gain,
May prompt the Sycophant to make his Court
To such as Dignities obtain,*

*Possess'd of Fortune to be Fortune's sport.
Few to the setting Sun their Homage pay,
Like Persians, who adore it in the East,
But ne'er salute it verging to the West,
Unthankful for the Gifts of the preceding Day.
Yet will I not a vulgar Temper shew,
Greatness to me's Contemptible and Low.
If Actions suit not with its high Estate
It has my Pity, not Esteem,
The Muse disdains the Theme,
And he that is the Good with Her must be the
Great.*

XII.

*O blifsful Paradise ! O Peace of Mind,
 That I within thefe Wall'd Inclofures find !
 Where have I been ! Where have I stray'd !
 What wrong Pursuits have I been bufied in !
 How have I look'd for Happinefs in Sin !
 And for Realities embrac'd a Shade !
 Thou fancied Liberty adieu,
 By whose Enchantments Mortals are mifled,
 By whom they're to Repentance dead,
 Farewel imaginary tempting fhew.*

XIII.

*But for thy Means all Nature'd be fecure,
 The Church, the State no Enemies would find,
 Thou Bane of Humane-kind,
 Which nothing but Imprifonment can Cure.
 FREEDOM ! Thou Wilderness of Harms,
 In which poor Wretches led aſtray,
 To Happinefs miftake their Way,
 Or I have loſt my Sight, or thou haſt loſt thy
 Charms.*

XIV.

*The Times will come, and I thoſe Times foreſee,
 When the Imperious and the Great
 Shall wiſh too late,
 That they had been confin'd with me.
 That they had been withheld from the Purſuit
 Of private Interſt, and publick Sin,*

*Which tempt the Sight, without, like Sodom's
 But are all Rotteness within. (Fruit
 Conscience will force, what Precept can't per-
 Or Precedents invite; (swade,
 Living, its Stings they may evade,
 But can't when swallow'd up in Death's Eternal
 Night.*

XV.

*Once more then, O Divine Confinement, hail !
 And be thou bless'd, O Palace of a Goal,
 May no vile Tongue thy Walls prophane,
 Though Wretches there may be
 Unworthy Thee.
 That these thy Walls contain.
 Thou art the Tomb for humane Sins design'd,
 Oh ! that but mine might have
 The Benefit of this thy Grave,
 And in Thee their Interment wholly find.
 Let others Extricate themselves from hence,
 By Gold's all-powerful Prevalence,
 That they may act like Libertines again,
 Here may I stay, continue here,
 Rather than not from what they Act refrain,
 I will not buy Repentance half so dear.*

XVI.

*Alas ! for all the Pomp and all the shew,
 That does mislead our Thoughts abroad,
 Ev'n Vanity it self's a Load
 Will sink us into endless Woe ;*

*And we of Liberty mistake the Price,
 though 'tis inestimable we must own,
 we to taste its Sweets, our Reason drown,
 And lose our future Hopes in Vice,
 Freedom like this the Vulgar Soul employs.
 'Tis to be chiefly priz'd, who Miseries enjoys.*

XVII.

*the Rich Earth within its Womb contains
 The Golden Oar we prize,
 and Mines of Diamonds keep their precious
 Conceal'd from Mortal Eyes ; (Veins
 when Flints and Pebbles o'er the Surface spread
 Are of no Value held,
 But choak the Field,
 and serve to keep the Fallow Land unfed ;
 Yet do they share
 The Benefit of Earth and Air,
 amidst their Vegetative Influence Dead.*

As the foregoing Poem was not only very excellent in it self, but adapted to my happy Circumstances ; so the good Consideration of Men much more miserable than my self, who shew'd all the Gaiety imaginable under their Misfortunes, joined, could not but exhilarate my Spirits, and use a Frankness in them suitable to theirs. Therefore after all was brought in and for, according to ancient Custom, I willingly agreed to be none of the first Start- and continued Whipping of Six pences to

to advance more Bottles, till our Chearfulness was turn'd into Drowsiness, and Merriment became the Occasion of Disputes among some of my Fellow Prisoners; so that it was thought high Time by the most Sober amongst us, to break up and retire to our Chambers, which was done accordingly, with the Ceremony of the Turn-key's locking each of the two Stair-case Doors after us.

C H A P. IV.

A Description of the Author's Chamber, with a Continuation of the Customs, and the History of the unfortunate Florimel.

BEing furnish'd with a Piece of Clay for a Candlestick, because I had not at that time equip'd my self with one of Earthen Ware, of which our College Utensils chiefly consisted, and shewn the Way to my Chamber, by the Gentleman whom was appointed Chum to, I found my self in a large Room up three Pair of Stairs with an Entrance to it through the Chapel: The Bars of the Windows were thick as my Wrist and very numerous; and the Walls of it, which were entirely Stone and had born that Hue for above half the last Century, were bedaubed with Texts of Scripture written in Charcoal, such as

Man is born to Trouble as the Sparks fly upward ; before I was Afflicted I went astray, but now I have kept thy Word, &c. and with scraps of Verses, and according to the Dispositions and Circumstances of the several Tenants that had been Inhabitants thereof. As for Beds, there were Steds for three to be laid upon made of Boards, but neither Flocks nor Feathers enough in all to make one. The Table and Chairs were of the like Antiquity and Use ; and *Potiphar's Wife's* Chamber-maid's Hat at the Coffee-house in *Chelsea*, had as fair a Claim to any Modern Fashion, as any one Thing in the Room, which were all of a piece with each other, yet thought Good enough (such is the insatiate Avarice of some Men) to be Rented at Ten Shillings *per Week*, exclusive of Twelve Pence for the necessary Woman or Nurse that cleans it. These were Objects unexpected, after I had been made to hope for better from those I had struck the Bargain with ; but these, with all their seeming Disadvantages, were easy to be born, when compar'd with those which my Chamber-fellow told me I must have met with, had I been Lock'd up on the Master's Side, where, besides a thousand other Inconveniencies, I must have paid Eighteen Pence *per Diem*, for Leave to associate myself with Thieves and Pick-pockets, in a dark stinking Cellar. Upon these Considerations,

derations, and the Fermentation of the Wine, which had got the Mastery of every Thing else in my *Pericranium*, I neither minded the Hardness of my Bed, nor the Courseness of the Sheets, but jump'd into them, like a Person over Head and Ears in the Water, to rid himself more quickly of his Pains; and fell asleep with as much Contentment, as if I had taken up my Abode in Paradise, till the next Morning about Eight of the Clock, when I was called down into the Yard, to see some Passages I was yet a Stranger to.

It happen'd that some of the Gentlemen, among whom were two or three I had been in Company with the preceding Night, as well as others that were engag'd in their respective Chambers, had gone beyond their just Bounds, and for having exceeded the Rules of Decency in their Cups, were adjudg'd to pay the usual Forfeiture, which is a Groat in Drink, and very punctually collected by the Turnkey every following Morning, and at the Payment of which, such Persons as think fit may be present: I who was willing to have all manner of due Instruction relating to the *Cerimoniale*, gave into the Invitation, and made one among them without any Difficulty, where after the Names of the respective Criminals were call'd over, there was not a *Culprit* among them but what Pleaded Guilty, and having pay'd his Fine, saw the Cocker of

High-

Highgate and the Turnkey, assisted by other Servants of the House, swallow the Liquor, it was pay'd in, down by wholesale. I was now got in Company again with the Hospitable and agreeable Person, who had held me in Discourse the Day before, and whom I had too good Opinion of, not to be desirous of Discoursing with again, for my further Improvement. I found him Cooking some Water-Gruel for himself, in the Tap Room, and indeed a long Procession of Time, had not only made him a perfect Master in that Art and Mystery, but of all other Culinarian Exercises, for he was a most Excellent Caterer, and knew as well how to buy, as to dress, his own, and those that would be his Messmate's, Provisions. He very generously offer'd me part of his Breakfast, and I very readily accepted, it being proper for the Stomach in the Morning, after too hard an Exercise over Night with another Liquor. Now, the Gentleman I am speaking of was a *Valetudinarian* to the last Degree, and tho' liable to frequent Indispositions by a long Confinement, and many Accidents in Engagements both by Land and Sea, fancied himself troubled with more Ailments than really he was. It was his Custom, as I have since learn'd, to be out of Bed one of the first in the whole College, and to walk four Miles constantly before he went to Breakfast. For this end he had measur'd

out the Length of the *Pressy-ard*, and computed how many Stages, Backward and Forward, amounted to a Mile; by which means he walk'd as much Ground every Morning, as if he had Travell'd from thence to *Hampstead*, which, for as much as I know, might have done him as much good, could he have receiv'd the Benefit of the like subtle and refin'd Air.

After we had enter'd into Discourse together, and I had beg'd the Favour of some Particulars relating to the Occasion of his Confinement, and the Circumstances of a Life, none of the secrets of which were before disclosed, he cried to me, ' *Philander*, for so I will take the liberty of calling you, Take the History of *Florimel*, as far as I can charge my Memory, after this imperfect manner.

The History of Florimel.

' The unfortunate *Florimel* was the Son of a Father, who may be said rather to have possess'd the Goods of Vertue, than of Fortune, tho' he had Riches enough to place him above the Contempt of the World, and to Educate his Children handsomly, and to a tolerable Advantage. *Florimel's* Mother also was of a Family more Genteel than Wealthy; and more Fam'd for their Adherence to the Crown

' Crown in the worst of Times, than the
 ' Estates they acquired by so doing. When
 ' he was Young (for he is now in the 56th
 ' year of his Age) after he had gone thro'
 ' the Studies previous to it, he was placed
 ' with an Advocate, there to learn the
 ' Quirks of the Law, and to be appriz'd
 ' of Methods to get an Estate, if it should
 ' not be his good Luck to be left one by
 ' Right of Inheritance; tho' it so happen'd
 ' that upon the Death of his Father, he
 ' found a Patrimony bequeath'd to him,
 ' on which he might have lived very plen-
 ' tifully, had not his Inclination to Travel-
 ' ling and other Execises, diverted him
 ' from following his Employment, or li-
 ' ving upon the Spot where his Estate was
 ' left him; the Revenues of which being
 ' rais'd in a cheap Country, might have
 ' enabled him to make a very Gentleman-
 ' like Figure. But the Spirit of Roving
 ' had possess'd him, and he seem'd rather
 ' to be inspired with an Ardour for Arms
 ' than Arts, and to seek his Fortune in Fo-
 ' reign Kingdoms, than to live upon his
 ' Possessions in that where he first breath'd
 ' the Vital Air. He therefore, upon the
 ' Death of King *Charles II.* which hap-
 ' pen'd on the 6th of *Feb. 1684*, and the
 ' Accession of his Brother King *James II.*
 ' to the Throne of these Kingdoms, left
 ' *Scotland*, and upon raising new Levies,
 ' after the Defeat of *Monmouth* in the *West*,

' was of the Number of several other
 ' Gentlemen who were distinguish'd by
 ' Commissions, and obtain'd that of a
 ' Cornet among the Cavalry ; from whence
 ' he was rais'd, after the Camp at *Hounslow*
 ' *Heath* was broken up, to a Lieutenant ;
 ' in which Station he kept, till the ill Po-
 ' sture of the King his Master's Affairs,
 ' made that Prince unwilling to rely upon
 ' his Army, which being Disbanded, gave
 ' way to a Revolution that was follow'd
 ' by the Flight of that King and his chief
 ' Adherents to seek shelter in *France*, and
 ' gave Occasion to the Estates of the Na-
 ' tion in Convention Assembled, to fill the
 ' Throne with the Prince and Princess of
 ' *Orange*. Hence it was, that I, by Ver-
 ' tue of my Allegiance, which I was taught
 ' was unalienable and untransferable to
 ' another during the late King *James* his
 ' Natural Life, follow'd his Fortunes into
 ' *France*, and from thence accompanied him
 ' into *Ireland* with a Captain's Commis-
 ' sion of Horse, and where I hope I did not
 ' act unworthy of the Trust reposed in me,
 ' at the Action near the *Boyne*, which had
 ' been more Fortunate on the side I was
 ' engaged in, had less Credit been given
 ' to such Officers who dissuaded the King
 ' from passing that River, and falling upon
 ' the *Mareschal de Schonberg* at *Dundalk*
 ' Camp, before he was strengthen'd by the
 ' Forces and Supplies of Ammunition and
 ' Pre-

Provisions, at the Arrival of King *William* What succeeded this Battle, or rather Rout, is so fresh in every ones Memory, that it's an act of super-errogation to repeat the Particulars. Let it suffice that it was fatal in the Consequences, and that tho' after the Flight of our unhappy Master, we forced his Competitor King *William* to raise the Siege of *Limerick* for want of his heavy Artillery, which a Party under General *Sarsfield*, wherein I Commanded a Troop, destroy'd in their Way to the Camp of the Besiegers; That Fortrefs with the whole Kingdom was reduced, some time after, by General *Ginkle* and the Earl of *Marlborough*, and it appear'd by the Articles of *Limerick*, that we were not only Entit'led to our Lives and Estates, but suffer'd, tho' Subjects of the Three Kingdoms Kingdoms, to Transport our selves with the *French* Auxiliaries either to *France* or elsewhere.

' Thus stood I, at this juncture, in regard to the Settlement that then obtain'd in the Kingdoms of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and thus was I at Liberty either to stay in *France* whither I had retired for some Time, or to go back to my Native Country, which I actually intended, but was taken in a *French* Privateer which was to have Landed me on the Coast of *England*, in my way thither. Being stripp'd of my Effects and other
' Thing

‘ Things of Value, I was sent with the
 ‘ Officers of the Ship to the *Marſhalſea* Pri-
 ‘ ſon in *Southwark*, where I narrowly e-
 ‘ ſcap’d being try’d for my Life, on ac-
 ‘ count of ſome Suſpicions, that the Capt.
 ‘ and Lieutenant were *Iriſh-men*, which
 ‘ could not be proved, their Commiſſions
 ‘ being found to proceed from the Admi-
 ‘ ralty of *France*; ſo that after I had lain
 ‘ Wind-bound in *Lowman’s Ketch* for ſome
 ‘ Months (which was the Appellation that
 ‘ Priſon went by from the Name of its
 ‘ Keeper) I was diſmiſs’d, in order to a
 ‘ much ſeverer Miſfortune, which came
 ‘ upon me purely from the aforeſaid un-
 ‘ happy Occaſion.

‘ For had I not been hinder’d from go-
 ‘ ing to *Scotland*, by the Loſs of every
 ‘ Thing I had, my Pocket Money not ex-
 ‘ cepted, I might have lived there with
 ‘ Credit and Eaſe to this Day. But ſo it
 ‘ pleas’d the Diſpoſer of all Things, in
 ‘ Conformity to his Bleſſed Will, that for
 ‘ want of Remittances from thence, I was
 ‘ obliged to ſtay longer in *London* than I
 ‘ intended, and a Plot ſhould break out
 ‘ during my Reſidence there, to Aſſaſſinate
 ‘ the King Reigning, which was follow’d
 ‘ by a Thouſand Pounds Reward for the
 ‘ Appreſſion of Sir *George Berkley* and
 ‘ ſeveral other Conſpirators; among
 ‘ whom, it fell out, that I was reputed one,
 ‘ tho’ I neither found my Right Chriſtian
 ‘ or

or Sir-name there, and upon that account, had no thoughts of being pointed at in the Proclamation.

‘ But the Event spoke the Contrary, for tho’ I never absconded, as having no Guilt of that Nature to hide for ; tho’ I scarce had ever seen any of the Persons in the Proclamation, and had never chang’d a Word during my whole Life, with one of my Accusers, I was said to be sworn against Point-Blank, and so hurried away to this Prison, where I continu’d for two long Years laden with Heavy Irons, and debarr’d of the Conversation of any one single Friend. I would not be hear thought to charge the Memory of him that Committed me : Far be it from me to speak evil of the Dead ; but speak this only by way of Observation on the Cruelty of others, who had me in safe Custody, and might have allowed me, without offending my Superiors, all decent Liberties.

‘ At the Close of two years, I and the rest of the Prisoners on the same Account, whom there was not Evidence enough against to be brought upon their Tryals, were admitted to breath the Air of the *Press-yard* in common with the other Prisoners, and to have our Irons knock’d off, in Consideration of satisfactory Rewards, which were almost as heavy to our Pockets, as the Weight of them to our Legs.

‘ By

‘ By this means we had opportunities of
 ‘ Entring our Prayers, and moving the
 ‘ Court of *King’s Bench* to be Bail’d: But
 ‘ some Circumstances against some of us
 ‘ were, it seems, so presumptive of Guilt,
 ‘ that all were included in’t, tho’ we offer’d
 ‘ in our Petition set forth for that Purpose,
 ‘ to take our Tryal and hold our selves
 ‘ Convicted by one Witness, should he
 ‘ prove us to be Accessary to the Subversion
 ‘ of the Government, or the Murther of the
 ‘ King. But, as I said before, strong Presum-
 ‘ ptions made the Parliament then sitting
 ‘ take the matter into their own Hands,
 ‘ and made an Act for our Imprisonment
 ‘ during the King’s Pleasure, which had the
 ‘ Royal Assent in that Prince’s time, since
 ‘ which in the succeeding and present Reign,
 ‘ we have again had the Mortification to be
 ‘ remanded to Prison upon the same Terms
 ‘ till this Day.

‘ Not, *said he*, that I would be thought to
 ‘ Reflect on any Part of the Legislature; We
 ‘ have the same Benefit of His Majesty’s most
 ‘ Gracious Interposition in our behalf, as we
 ‘ had in the two late Reigns; and when it
 ‘ shall please God to give him Relaxation
 ‘ from Attending on more immediate Con-
 ‘ cerns of State, He will let our deplorable
 ‘ Condition have a Place in his Roya
 ‘ Compassion, and admit us to the Benefit
 ‘ of that Act of *Habeas Corpus*, which in
 ‘ Time, after the present Troubles and
 ‘ Com

‘ Commotions are hush’d and still’d, will
 ‘ cease to be suspended, and I am satisfied
 ‘ it is not in the Intention of the late Act
 ‘ to deprive them of, otherwise than by
 ‘ leaving it in the Breast of the present
 ‘ King to Confine or Release them, as it
 ‘ was left at the Will and Pleasure of the
 ‘ late Queen.’

Here he shew’d me his Case and Petition, as given to both Houses of Parliament in print, and lamented himself in particular, that he, thro’ the Means of his Imprisonment, was deprived of his Estate by a Relation, who had taken Possession of it as the next of Kin, and given out that he was dead, by which he was lost to all Means of Subsistence, but by some private Charities. To which I answered, that my Perusal of his Case would avail him nothing, that I was heartily sorry for his Misfortunes, and that the Way to redress his Grievances (if he could not find Means to do it in the proper Courts) as to the Injustice that was done him in *Scotland*, was to apply to the King and Council with a dutiful Memorial; Tho’, here withal, I gave him to understand, that I was no manner of Stranger to the Method of his, and the other four unhappy Gentlemen’s, being supplied with common Necessaries, since not only common Report, but Persons of undoubted

Veracity had assured me, that Three Hundred Pounds *per Annum*, had been left as a Legacy for their Subsistence, one of whom's Share, had since fallen in among the other Five, which, with other Helps that I could mention, made a very handsome Article towards the Necessities of Life. I took the Liberty likewise of telling them, that it would have look'd like a very odd Compliment to the King now Reigning, not to have entrusted him with the same Power of Imprisoning or setting at Liberty, that his Predecessors was invested with ; and that it might be reputed a very ill Return to the Marks of Affection King *William* had shewn to the House of *Hanover*, in procuring the Succession to the Crown in that Family, should the first illustrious Branch of it that mounted the Throne, be over-hasty in enlarging such as were, at least violently, suspected of having a Design to Assassinate so kind and indulgent a Benefactor. Upon this, my Friend, who was a very intelligent Man, and one that weigh'd Effects with their Causes, said, he held himself dispos'd to wait all Events with Patience ; that Custom had made his Bonds very easie, and that provided his Affairs, as to the Temporal Concerns of this Life were put into a satisfactory Posture, he had very little to give him any Disturbance about those that were Spiritual, and so we parted, upon the Interruption of an Acquaintance or two who came to visit him.

C H A P. V.

The Case of the Orange-Merchant, with his last Dying Speech. An Interview with the Ordinary; The Manner of his turning Confessor, and the Methods used by him in that Office; With a Word or two concerning the Visitants, and the Behaviour of the Militia Officer.

I Was now look'd upon by the Prisoners as one of themselves, knew who and who Messed together, and could tell what Person of Distinction, for some Years since, went to make his *Exit* at Tyburn, out of such and such a Room; when the next Adventure I met with, as I was reading the News-papers (for every out had that Liberty who paid so much *per Week* to the Turnkey) was a Salutation from the Orange-Merchant, who, without the least Disorder, very frankly came to me, and cry'd, Sir, *I am told that you are a Judge of Things of this Nature, pray will you look over my last Dying Speech, and correct what you shall find amiss therein.* ' A Dying Speech ' say you, quoth I, those Looks of yours (for he was a young simpering Fellow) ' speak you in a quite different Condition, ' and that you have a longer Lease of your ' Life than you would have me to believe. ' You are deceived, was his Reply with an Oath,

Oath, I expect every Day the Decision of the Twelve Judges, with whom the Jury have left their Verdict against me Special, which from the Knowledge of my own Crime, I cannot imagine will terminate in my Favour; so that I shall undoubtedly go to Pot from the Interest the Bank has with the Government. Upon this I ask'd him the Nature of his Offence, and why he was not more serious at the Remembrance of it? And had for Answer, That it was Erasing the Indorsements upon Bank Bills after this Manner, which he shew'd me the Way of, by making use of nothing but the Juice of Limons, that wholly defaced any Writing whereon it was placed. Those are falsly call'd Indorsements, said I, that are not on the Backside of Bills, that Word taking its Rise from *Dorsum* a Back. No matter for that, replied he, no doubt but the Court will have it so, and the Fox was in the Right to apprehend the SWELLINGS in his Forehead would be interpreted HORNS. Then why did you not as he did, was my Answer, he made a timely Retreat, but you was caught. Yes, that I was with a Witness, said Culprit, he that set me at Work, and encouraged me to go on with it, betray'd me: When, if I could but have went on with the Sport for six Weeks or two Months, he might have left off his Shop with some shew of Credit, which now he seems plainly to be in a fair Way of parting with for Want. ' Then you are like the

' Whore

Whore in *Solomon's* Proverbs, who when caught in the Fact, wip'd her Mouth and cry'd, She had done no Harm, *said I*, pray give me leave to see this Speech of yours, it must needs shew you a rare Penitent. ' Whereupon he took it out of his Pocket, and I found it to run thus :

The last Dying Speech of J—— B—— ggs, who was Executed at Tyburn for Out-witting the Bank of England.

Men, Women, and Children,

I Come hither to hang like a Pendulum to a Watch, for endeavouring to be Rich too soon ; and by attempting to gain an Alderman's Estate, am fallen under the Hands of the Sheriff's Officer, who is the Finisher of that Law I am said to transgress. I hope the Fellow will do his Work as becomes an Arts-Master, for I have done mine with all the Dexterity imaginable, and might have gone unpunish'd for so doing, had not one concern'd therein, for which I have not Charity enough to forgive him, unluckily betray'd me. I am young enough to have liv'd longer, had those who had the Disposal of Affairs of this Nature, thought the Continuance of my Life advisable ; but I am, as you may see by my *Exit*, judg'd Old enough to go out of the World. Mr. Ordinary has been very pressing

‘ pressing with me to confess more Sins
 ‘ than I have been Guilty of, but the bad-
 ‘ ness of my Memory is a great Bar to such
 ‘ a Compliance. I protest to you, that I
 ‘ know of no Plot against the Government,
 ‘ for I never was judged wise enough to be
 ‘ admitted into any Consultations of that
 ‘ Nature, as may appear from my trust-
 ‘ ing the Evidence that has sworn away
 ‘ my Life, and was of as little steddiness.
 ‘ I never was a Murtherer, unless killing
 ‘ Fleas, and such little harmless Cruelties
 ‘ fall under the Statute; neither can I
 ‘ charge my self with being a *Whore-*
 ‘ *master*, since the the Female Gentry of
 ‘ the Hundreds of *Drury* had always the
 ‘ *Ascendant* over me, not I over them,
 ‘ which I am told by the Learned, very
 ‘ much alters the Property. As to the
 ‘ Fact for which I die, the Reverend Mr.
 ‘ Ordinary has indeed compared it to
 ‘ Thieving, but I must ask his Pardon,
 ‘ and have a better Opinion of my own In-
 ‘ genuity than to give into his Sentiments,
 ‘ and agree to have it under that inglo-
 ‘ rious Appellation, since it is no more
 ‘ than out-witting the Directors of the
 ‘ Bank of *England* by a sort of a Collusive
 ‘ Practice, and that Body Corporate has
 ‘ play’d the same Game in their Turn, by
 ‘ over-reaching the Bankers, and establish-
 ‘ ing themselves by an Act of Parliament
 ‘ on their Ruin.

‘ You

‘ You may expect from me perhaps, great Tokens of Sorrow and Contrition upon this Melancholy Occasion, but you will lose your Labour if you came for that End; for if I have any Concern upon my Spirits, it is because I was detected and found out at the very Entrance upon my Project, which turn’d to so little Account, that I had not enough thereby to Commute for Life.

‘ Those that Cant and Sigh at the Gallows, and expire with Commendatory Annotations from the most Judicious and very grave Ordinary Mr. *Paul*, would return again to their old Haunts, were they suffer’d to out-live their solemn Protestations, which nothing but the Apprehensions of a scurvy Halter extorts from them. So I am well assured, if I know my own Inclinations, should I. ’Tis therefore my Resolution, with the leave of this good Man (meaning Mr. Ordinary) however he shall please to dispose of me in his Paper, to say nothing at all of that Nature, nor to make large Promises of Amendment, when I know the Frailty of my own Flesh.

‘ As for the Faith I die in, it matters not to make many Words about it, when I was at Liberty I was look’d upon as a true blue wholesale Protestant; went to Church like other wholesale Citizens on some Occasions, and to Meetings at others,

‘ and

‘ and had *No Trust upon Retale* painted up
 ‘ in my Shop, as a certain Healer of broken
 ‘ and schismatical Soles, had in his Stall.

‘ To conclude, for I may speak till my
 ‘ Tongue’s weary before a Reprieve will
 ‘ come. You Ladies and Gentlemen that
 ‘ are Spectators of my last *Exit*, can bear me
 ‘ witnels that I do not go out of the World
 ‘ whining and crying like many others
 ‘ that have gone before me, because I
 ‘ have been told that this is no abiding
 ‘ Place, and find that saying to be verified
 ‘ now by Experience, and the Condition I
 ‘ am in.

‘ As for my Bodily Goods, if the Govern-
 ‘ ment and Captain S——k have left me
 ‘ any to dispose of, I bequeath them
 ‘ to the Undertaker who is to have
 ‘ the Care of my Interment, and this ho-
 ‘ nest Friend here *Jack Catch*, or Mr. *Mar-*
 ‘ *vell*, which you please, who is to put a
 ‘ Stop to my Breath ; tho’ I very much
 ‘ fear little more than what is in my Pocket
 ‘ will fall to the Share of the latter, be-
 ‘ cause they have been emptied lately at
 ‘ Whisk.

‘ So much by way of Oration ; here
 ‘ *Jack* do your Office decently and with dis-
 ‘ patch, these Cloaths, Hat and Wig are
 ‘ yours. You will find Fifteen Shillings
 ‘ and some Grocery in my Pocket. Now
 ‘ Mr. Ordinary you may sing the Psalm if
 ‘ you please, and I’ll endeavour, as well

‘ as it is possible to bear a Bob with you ;
 ‘ but let it be none of the Penitential ones.’

I admir’d at his Insensibility under his Circumstances, and had been further troubled with his Impertinence, had not it been the Ordinary’s Hour to attend upon the Condemn’d Prisoners, a Day or two after the Sessions ; wherefore I went up with him into the Chappel, where the Man indeed did according to his Sufficiency, read Prayers tolerably well, and gave such Exhortations as might have been of Benefit to the poor Souls they were directed to, but they had conceived such an indifferent Opinion of him from common Report, that all he said might be made applicable to Sir Roger *L’Estrange’s thorough Passage of the Gospel*, where it was made to *go in at one Ear and out at the other*.

This occasion’d Matter of Reflection when I came down from Prayers, and made me condole with *Florimel*, who, tho’ himself a Papist, join’d with me in my Sentiments of the great Want there was of an able Spiritual Guide for these poor Creatures, who instead of having the Doctrines of Faith and Repentance truly inculcated into them, very often went out of the World, destitute of proper Helps. But *Florimel* assured me, that Mr. *L——n* was a very *Tertullian* in respect of some of his Predecessors, and that however he might

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fall

fall short of other Divines in Matters of Perswasion, he excell'd all, that he had known possess'd of that Post, for Sincerity and Plain-dealing. With that he told me a Story of one *Smith*, who having a young Fellow that was Sentenc'd to Death under Examination in his Closet, cry'd, *Well, Boy, now it's thy Turn to unbosome thy self to me : Thou hast been a great Sabbath-breaker in thy Time I warrant thee ; the Neglect of going to Church regularly, has brought Thee under these unhappy Circumstances ?* ' Not I, good Sir, ' replied Culprit, I never neglected going ' to some Church or other, if I was in ' Health, Morning and Evening every ' Lord's-day.' Nor did the Youth in all probability, miss due Attendance there, since it was his Business to frequent such Places of Resort, for the better carrying on of his Trade, which was that of Picking Pockets. *How*, said Orthodox Sam., for that was the Christian Name of this great Pains taker in the Work of Confession, *no Sabbath-breaker ! Then thou hast been an abominable Drunkard, that is most certain ?* ' Nor ' that neither, said the Youth, I was never ' given to that Vice during the whole ' Course of my Life, having always had ' a mortal Aversion to strong Liquor from ' my Cradle, as my Friends tell me.' Sure the Boy's Mad, was the Question-monger's Return, *I never had one Criminal under my Hands before, that was neither a Sabbath-breaker*

breaker nor a Drunkard. Child, prithee recollect thy self, it will be better for thy Reputation after thou art dead, for the World to know thou diest a Penitent. But he could extort nothing Satisfactory from the Lord upon that Head : Whereupon he took him to Task concerning another Article, and insinuated to him, That no doubt he had been a flagrant Whore-master : He saw it in his very Countenance, which told him, That the Lust of the Flesh had gain'd the Predominance in him over his other Passions? ' You ' are under a Mistake there also, good Mr. ' Ordinary, was the Youngster's Answer, I ' have not known what a Woman is, carnally, to this Day, as I hope for Salvation in the World to come.' With that Sam. began to be in a great Pet, and to cry out, *Why the Devil's in this young Fellow, without all manner of Question. He will neither own himself a Sabbath-breaker, a Drunkard, nor a Whore-master ; the only three Topics I can any ways enlarge upon, and yet has the Impudence to say he hopes to be saved ! Sirrah, you must be one of these three, that you must ; therefore recollect your self, set all your Faculties of Remembrance at work, or I shall be at a Loss to say any Thing of you in my Paper.* ' Then it's nothing with you to ' be a Thief, cry'd the Criminal, I am sure ' I find it otherwise, for I am justly Condemn'd for so being.' Get you out of my sight, said his Reverence, *such Case harden'd*

Rogues, as you, would Ruin the Sale of my Paper, I'll e'en write you down OBSTINATE; and so he did: But others afterwards came in, and made him amends by more ample Confessions.

By this may be seen the Necessity of able and experienc'd Divines, for Posts of such Importance as the Preservation of the Souls of dying Men ; such as having been condemned by humane Laws, have no Prospect of avoiding the Punishment due to them for transgressing those that are Divine, without taking Shame to themselves by an ample Confession of their Crimes ; which they cannot be brought to, while the Characters of the Persons employed to induce them thereunto, are as low, as their Salaries, and under the Pretence of Benefiting others by the Terrors of Offenders Punishment, and the Odiousness of their Example, they only consult their own Interest, by committing those Confessions to the Press, for the Lucre that is obtain'd for so doing; and violating their own Consciences in the Publication of what their Holy Profession enjoins them to keep Secret, while they are employ'd to Purge those of others. *Pudet hac opprobria nobis & dici potuisse, & non potuisse refelli.* All the World will cry out Shame on us, for going on with so Ungenerous, so Unchristian a Custom. What Pity is it therefore that it is continued, and that the Magistrates of
this.

this renowned City do not stifle the Practice of it, by putting the Ordinary, who ought to be chosen out of the most Learned and Brightest Ornaments of the Church, (for *who shall be sufficient for these Things?*) into a Capacity of living hand-somely upon his Salary, without having Recourse to such mean and unjustifiable Shifts.

It was now towards Evening, when Visitants began to flock in to take a Bottle, and to comfort the distress'd Inhabitants of this Place, by the only Method that is capable of taking away all Comfort from them, viz. by inordinate Drinking. Hereupon my Instructor, for so I must call *Florimel*, began to point out to me their Names and Qualities, telling me, this was a celebrated Alderman's Son, who not having so much Prudence as his Father, render'd himself suspected by keeping suspicious Company; that another was an eminent Merchant, who would do much better to relieve the Militia Officer he came to carowse with at distance, and by unobserved Methods, than to appear so publicly in the Support of a Person obnoxious to the Government, at a Time of the Day, when the Steps of the disaffected Party were watch'd so narrowly; to which he added, That a third was a certain Clergyman, who had made himself famous in his Generation at *White-Chappel* and *St. Laurence's Church*, and whom

whom it behoved in a particular Manner *to take heed to his Ways that he offended not with his Tongue*, since his Zeal for a certain Cause, had made him the Mark of the contrary Party's Displeasure; and that a fourth, who was likewise an eminent Trader, and a great Stickler at all City Elections, would obtain more Credit in the World for his Conduct, by less frequent Journies to a Place, which he could not enter nor come out of, without the Notice of such Eyes as all Governments employ Abroad for their Security. These were my new adopted Friend's Sentiments, which, I must needs say were conformable to my own; since such open Proceedings are rather of Disservice than use to the Persons they are intended in Favour of. But what he or I might think was of little or no Signification, for the customary Healths went round very plentifully above Stairs, and the City-Champion there that used to sweat in Scarlet in the Artillery Ground, now did the same, by plying his Glass very furiously in his Night Gown, and continued calling out to *Tom* the Suttler, after a very Warlike Manner, from the Window, Time after Time, for two Bottles more, till the Keys of the Prison were sent for, and the Company dismiss'd, which puts an End to this Chapter.

C H A P. VI.

Of the Arrival of the News concerning the Defeat at Preston, and the Change of Countenance both in the Goalers and Prisoners thereupon, with other Observations belonging thereunto.

THE Sun was now got half way to its Meridian Heighth, when the Ringing of Bells did that which the rattling of huge unweildy Keys, and the reverberating Sounds of immense Iron Bolts could not ; and I awak'd from my Sleep with a Surprise at such unusual Peals of Joy and general Content. But *Florimel*, who was a very early Riser, and had enter'd my Chamber sooner than ordinary to Communicate the News to me, told me, in a very mournful Tone, that the King's Affairs (or so he called the Pretender) were ruined, and that the Generals *Wills* and *Carter* had attack'd them in *Preston*, and taken them all Prisoners at Discretion. Now ! said I, a handful of Men in company of those that were in Arms against them, and were obliged, on Account of the Cause they had engaged in, (that made them, every Man, incur the Guilt of High Treason) to Fight it out to the last drop of blood in their Bodies, to beat such a numerous Assembly ? It's next to an impossibility !

When

When I was told that I did well to call them an *Assembly*, since it would have been improper to give them the Name of an Army ; but that nothing was more certain than that the Rising in the *North of England* was totally suppress'd, and that not only the Ring-leaders of it, but almost every Mother's Son concern'd in it, were to be brought up to Town in order to take their Tryals for being found in Arms against the Government, which I might be more and more assured of would I get out of Bed, and satisfy my self from the Prints of the Day, and the Countenances of the Goalers and some of my Fellow Prisoners below Stairs. Nor did Things go otherwise than he gave me to understand, for I was no sooner got into the Yard where the News Papers lay on a Table, for the Use of which, every one was amerced so much *per Week* to the Turnkey ; but I found what had been told me true to a Tittle, and the Gentlemen Inhabitants of the Place, here and there dispers'd, and talking together as their several Humours and Inclinations led them. The Captain, for his part, who built all his Hopes of Enlargement on the Success of that unlucky Insurrection, would by no means be perswaded to believe one Syllable of the Defeat, and swore by his Maker, that the Author of the *Flying-Post*, who gave the Particulars of it with an Air of Joy, was

one

one of the greatest Liars under the Canopy of the Heaven's ; after which, he whistled out his old Favourite Tune of *the King shall enjoy his own again*, which he had no Haut-boys at that time to accompany him in, being encouraged thereto by a *Lancashire Gentleman*, one of the Five fix'd there during his Majesty's Pleasure by Act of Parliament, who declared the Impossibility of King *George's* Forces making themselves Masters of *Ribble Bridge*, or of succeeding in an Attempt to possess it, since it could not be Attack'd without Cannon, which was wanting for such an Enterprize, and one Hundred Men might defend it against Five Thousand. Words hereupon grew high, and even his Favourite *Post-Boy's* Assurances, that the Rebels were undone to a Man, from the Earl of *Derwentwater* down to *George Budden* the Upholster, were of no weight with him. So that Chalk was called for, and there Mr. *Bl——n* was desired to draw out a Plan of the Bridge and the Avenues leading to it, while an old Major, his Fellow Prisoner on suspicion of the same Fact, was to determine the Dispute, by giving his Judgment of the Advantage of its situation, and the Impracticableness of its being carried without the loss of more Men than the Troops who came against it amounted to. The Major hereupon very wisely observ'd from the Nature of the Ground, and the Defiles

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that

that were to be pass'd in their way to the Town of *Preston*, that great Difficulties were to be surmounted, provided there were any Number of Men left there to oppose them in their Passage, but, as he understood from the Papers before them, that instead of defending the said Bridge, those that had the Guard of it were so infatuated as to retire to the Town, the Difficulties on the side of the Assailants were totally removed, which at that time of Day made the Subject they were upon no fit Matter of Discourse ; since whatsoever Opportunities had offer'd for them to maintain their Ground, had been neglected by an Impolitick and Fatal Retreat. Yet maugre all that could be alledg'd to set him right, or bring him into Temper, the SILKEN Warrior display'd himself in his true Colours, and from Oaths and Imprecations, offered to fall into Wagers (which is the last Resort of Persons that want Reason) on that Head. So that I and my Companion, thought it most adviseable to leave him, and turn our Eyes towards a Box where the Hangman, an Understapper to one of the Turnkeys, and a Deputy Bedmaker, were calling in for Liquor after an extravagant Manner, and drinking to their good Luck, which was to arise from the Ruin and Loss of Lives and Fortunes in many good Families. This was very shocking to a Man who had been seldom acquainted

quainted with such Scenes, and I was for diverting my self with another Prospect, when *Florimel* perswaded me to sit down hard by them, where, as near as I could remember, their Discourse ran thus:

Executioner, Come *Doll*, here's to thee, good Days to us, once more; if this News holds true, I am made a Man of for ever.

Bed-maker, What News Mr. *Marvel*, has the Parliament lengthen'd out the Suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act?

Deputy Turnkey, No, you Fool, something better than that: Let me do what I will, I shall never beat a good Understanding into you.

Bed. Prithee *Tuner*, not so hasty: What can be of greater Use to People of our Employ, than the Continuance of that dear, dear Suspension Act?

Execut. Two or Three Hundred Prisoners for High Treason! Drink a Bumper to their sudden Arrival; they'll be your Tenants very speedily.

Bed. How! Two or Three Hundred; where shall we stow them?

Dep. Never heed that, we shall find Room for them, provided they have where-withal to pay for it.

Execut. Pay for it! most of them have very great Estates, and are topping Gentry, so that there is no Question but we shall all of us make a Penny of them.

Dep. I for Fees to lighten their Irons.

Bed. I for keeping their Chambers sweet and clean at so much each *per Week*.

Execut. And I for Civility Money, in placing their Halter's Knot right under their Left Ear, and seperating their Quarters at the Place of Execution with all imaginable Decency.

Bed. I am altogether against that ; for the sooner they fall into your Hands, the sooner I shall lose them.

Dep. Thanks to good Fortune, *Doll*, we have a very quick Succession in these Tenements ; and one is scarce got out at the Lodge Door, but another comes in.

Bed. But not such fine Gentlemen as these are said to be ; Pray what is their Crime ?

Dep. I always told you, Brother *Marvel*, I was help'd with a Wife of distinguishing Abilities, she's so stupid as not to remember what the Gentlemen were talking of, the Defeat of the Rebels.

Bed. True, now I understand you, and those sort of Gentry are to be brought hither ?

Dep. Yes, you Fool. *Tom*, t'other Quarter of *Geneva* ; we shall call for our Bottles of Port in few Days. Glorious Times are coming, when we shall live in Clover. Come, Mr. *Marvel*, here are General *Carpenter's* and General *Wills's* Healths to you : They are brave Men to bring such Grist to
our

Mr Mills: Our especial Benefactors truly.
Execut. Were it a Mile to the Bottom,
 would down with it all, since I know no
 other way how to make them Reparation.
 Come, *Doll*, to the King's two Victorious
 Generals.

Bed. With all my Soul, good Sir, but I
 never heard of them before in all my born
 days, tho' merry be their Hearts, say I, if
 they have done us any Good.

Execut. Good! say you, the whole King-
 dom's preserved by them; and what is
 more, we, in our respective Stations, are
 more particularly obliged to them.

Dep. Mr. *Marvel* speaks Matter of Fact;
 they have done that for us, we could
 never have done for our selves. My Heart's
 light as a Feather, the Devil a-bit will
 think of laying out any more Money up-
 Leather to patch up broken Shoes with:
 make my Fortune otherwise, I'll e'en
 think of Conning my new Lesson against
 Prisoners come to Town: *May it please
 your Honour, these Pair of Derby's are as
 light as Silver, and weigh two Guineas lighter
 than those such a Gentleman has on, &c.*

Bed. And I, These Sheets are made of
 the finest *Holland*, and are never used but
 when Persons of the first Rank are to
 lie in them; Sir, such a one when he was
 here, gave me a Guinea the first Night
 he handsell'd them.

Execut. I shall not be behind-hand with you, tho' it will, in all probabiitly, come last to my share to Finger any of their Money: For you are to remember, that besides Three Pounds *per* Head I shall have from the Sheriff for the Execution of every Peer, their Cloaths, and the Money in their Pockets will likewise be my Perquisites; and for every Gentleman Hang'd and Quarter'd, I am to have the like Sum, with the respective Gratifications they shall make me for a quick and easy Dispatch; so that in all likelihood, provided the King does not unseasonably spoil my Market by Reprieves and Pardons, which I hope he will never consent to, I shall not only purchase the Title of an Esquire, but the Estate too, and be in a Condition of not taking an Apprentice under the Sums that are usually given to a *Turkey* Merchant, which may make my Wife hold up her Head, one Day or other, to the Level of an Alderman's Lady.

This was the Tenour of their Discourse when upon the Approach of the Governor of the Citadel, Mr. *Pitt*, with proper Persons to survey the Prison Rooms, and make a Report from the Number of Beds that might be put in them, how many new Tenants could be lodg'd there, away reel'd the three *Geneva* Drinkers to some other Place of Entertainment, there to finish Dialogue, that had as little Edification as Humi-

Hum:

Humanity and good Manners in it ; while it was visible in every one's Face, besides their own and the Sutlers, who were to be only Gainers by this new Addition of unfortunate Personages, how much they had at Heart the Miseries of others, that, in all probability, would give a very large increase to their own. For it was not to be expected, but that the Person whose Interest it was to make as much as he could of his Tenements, would provide for as great Numbers as could possibly be squeez'd into them ; and that from thence forward, such as were allowed to alleviate their hard Fate by the Society of their Wives, would not be at Liberty to partake of that Favour. A Thought that carried as great Aggravations of Torment with it in the Minds of Two of the Five Gentlemen, whose Liberty, in all likelihood, will be no otherwise regain'd than by the Loss of their Lives, and which, Two only had the Benefit of the above-mention'd Conversation, as the Sentence they lay under, without Tryal, of Imprisonment during Pleasure, which nothing but the Mercies of a most gracious King can release them from.

C H A P. VII.

Of the Arrival of the Rebel Prisoners, with some Reflections on their Cavalcade thro' Holborn, as also the Characters of the principal Persons committed to Newgate, their Usage and Entertainment.

THE Day now was come, wherein those unfortunate Noblemen and Gentlemen, who by a Surrender at Discretion, had entertain'd vain Notions of saving Life and Estate, were to be led in Triumph, as an Example to deter other incautious and rash Persons from the like Attempts, thro' Crowds of Spectators to their respective Prisons, which the Government had appointed to be the Tower of London, the Marshalsea in Southwark, Newgate, and the Fleet. Wherefore all Things being ready prepared for 'em, especially in that Mansion House where my ill Stars obliged me to take up my Abode, I got leave of the Governour thereof, to take a View of them as they came thro' the Gate, from a Room over it, on the Master's side. And here it may not be from the purpose of an Historian (for such is my Province) to say that the respective Prisoners in their Journey from Preston to London, having been used with the utmost Civility and Decency according to their Qualities, on their Arrival

at *Highgate*, were to know what they were to expect, which indeed was no more than the Laws of our own, and the Common Practice of other Nations in the like Cases, Authorized and Allow'd. Accordingly Major General *Tatton*, with two Battalions of the Royal Foot Guards compleatly Arm'd, attended their coming at the Place just mention'd, and having brought Cords sufficient to Pinnion each of them after the manner of Condemn'd Criminals, and to lead their Horses with, (since from the Lord, down to the Footman, they were to have every one a Grenadier for that end) they were order'd to proceed on their March in four Divisions from the Hill, under safe Conduct, to their several Places of Confinement. The Major General led the Way, (being preceded by several Citizens of more Loyalty than Compassion, who made repeated Huzza's to excite the Mob to do the like) at the Head of a Company of the First Regiment of Guards, who made a very fine Appearance ; after which came the Division that was appointed to take up their Abode in the *Tower*, Two by Two, the Earl of *Derwentwater* and Lord *Viddrington*, in the first Rank, and the other Lords, and Noblemen following with Halber'd Horses, and their Riders like Common Malefactors, revil'd and Hooted. Alas ! alas ! said I to *Florimel* that accompanied me, can this be that Illustrious Person (mean-

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ing the Lord *Derwentwater*) who by Descent from Royal Blood on his Mother's, and Unattainted Noble Ancestors on the Father's, who by the great Estate he stood possess'd of, the Moneys he had at Command, and the Love that was born him by Thousands and Thousands, might have sat quietly under his own Vine, might have tasted the Sweets of it, and reap'd the Benefit of the Prayers and good Wishes of Multitudes of Tenants, Neighbours and Dependents, which the sweetness of his Temper and Disposition, in which he had few Equals, had secured to him? Is this the Man who, being formed by Nature to be generally beloved, for he was of so universal a Beneficence, that he seem'd to live for others, dwell'd among his own People and there spent the Income of his Estate continually doing good Offices to every one as opportunity offer'd? Who beside generous Acts of Hospitality, and noble Entertainments which few aim at, and none come up to, was diffusive of his Charity to poor and distress'd Families on all occasions, whether known to him or not, whether Papist or Protestant? His Fate cannot but be sensibly felt by a great many who had no kindness for the Cause he died in, and who will have occasion heartily to wish he had not forwarded his Ruin and their Loss, by his indiscretion in joining so mad and unwarrantable an Undertaking

dertaking : But oh ! that Noble Lord on the Earl's Left Hand, strikes me with Pity and Shame for his Degeneracy from the glorious Titles given to his Valiant and Renown'd Forefathers. How does he sink beneath the Weight of his Misfortunes, and give Tokens of the lowest Despondency, whilst the other sits Erect, and with a serene and compos'd Countenance, bears all the Calumnies and Opprobrious Terms that are cast on him by the licentious and unthinking Mobility ! Did this Despondency of Mind take its Rise from a sense of his Guilt, were he sorry for his Offences against his Sovereign Lord the King, by rising in open Rebellion against him, or took shame to himself for such an unnatural Procedure, he would be rather worthy of Praise than Blame : But his Anxiety of Soul, his Poverty of Spirit, his Unmanly Behaviour flows altogether from Reflections on the Loss of a great and flourishing Fortune whereupon he liv'd meanly and inhospitably, and the Danger he now lies under of losing his Head that is forfeited by his Treason : He sorrows not for having been in the Rebellion, but for having seen it unsuccessful, at the same Time that he caus'd the Surrender, and chose rather to run the risque of dying by the Hands of the Common Hangman, than to fall Valiantly Fighting in Defence of what he then thought a just and laudable

Undertaking. O Pusillanimous and Despirited Dastrel! How unworthy to bear the Name of *Widdrington*! A Name Recorded in *English* Story for Heroick Achievments! A Name that had rais'd Monuments of Glory to its self by Acts of Chivalry and Loyalty, now to be defaced for want of both, in the last Possessor of its Honours and Estates! I had gone on with such Descants as these, but was interrupted by *Florimel* who was a *Scot*, and told me the next two Lords were *William Maxwell* Earl of *Nithisdale*, and *George Seaton* Earl of *Wintoun*, the first a Person of great Penetration, Conversant in Letters, and of singular Esteem with all such as had a Veneration for Men of Probity and Learning; and the last of a very Ancient Family wanting no Courage, nor so much Capacity as his Friends found it for his Interest to suggest before and after his Tryal. For, said he, who was a *Scotsman*, and knew the whole secret of the Insurrection from Acquaintance that gave him Lights into it, He was always forward to go upon Action, but always against the March into *England*, not so much from the Certainty, as he said, there was of being over power'd, as from the greater opportunity which, as he insisted, there was of doing Service to their Cause in *Scotland*: In order to which he argued with, and press'd them back into *Scotland*, and leaving *Edinburgh* and *Stirling* to their Fate, to go and
join

join the *Western* Clans, attacking in their
 Way the Towns of *Dumfries*, *Glasgow*, and
 other Places, and then open a Communi-
 cation with the Earl of *Mar* and his For-
 ces. Which Advice, if followed, would
 in all probability have tended to their
 great Advantage, King *George's* Troops
 being much inferiour in Number. The
 next Two, added he, are *Robert Dalziel*
 Earl of *Carnwath*, a Nobleman brought
 up, under the Care of one, who made it
 his Study to instill the Principles of *Here-
 ditary Right* and *Passive Obedience* into his
 Mind at *Cambridge*, where he suck'd in an
 entire Affection for the Liturgy and Wor-
 ship then and now us'd in the Church of
England, of which he is a sincere Devo-
 tee. He is singularly good in his Temper,
 of an agreeable Affability, and Delivers
 himself very handsomly in his Discourse;
 and *William Gordon* Lord Viscount *Kenmure*,
 a Grave full Aged Gentleman of a very
 Antient Family, and he himself of Ex-
 traordinary Knowledge in Publick and Po-
 litical Business, tho' utterly a stranger to all
 Military Affairs; of a very obliging Temper,
 and so Calm and Mild, as to be unqualified
 for the Command he bore over the *Scots*
 that cross'd the *Forth* by Order of the Earl
 of *Mar*, being both Plain in his Dress, and
 his Way of Behaviour. The next were
William Lord *Nairn*, with the Master of
 that Name his Son. This Lord, as I am
 told,

told, is Brother to the Duke of *Athol*, but by Marrying an Heiress, according to the Custom of *Scotland*, chang'd his own Name for hers. He came over the *Firth* with a good Number of his Men, and is a Gentleman well beloved in his Country, and by all that had the Advantage to be acquainted with him: He had formerly been at Sea, and gave signal Instances of his Bravery, and was a Vehement stickler against the Union. Nor was his Son, who was Lieutenant Colonel to Lord *Charles Murray's* Regiment, a younger Son of the Duke of *Athol's*, Condemn'd to be Shot for Desertion at *Preston*, any ways inferior to his Father in Courage; but by taking much pains to encourage the Highlanders whom he Led, by his own Fatigues in their hard Marches, and by always going with them on Foot through the worst and deepest Ways, and in *Highland* Dress, had acquired a very great Reputation among the Rebels. As for the others that were now Conducted to the *Tower*, I shall have occasion to speak of them afterwards, in their Abode at *Newgate*, from whence they were carried to *Westminster* to take their Tryals, neither shall I give any Account of the *Marshalsea* Division as no ways suitable to the Subject I have taken in Hand. Be it sufficient, that those appointed for *Newgate* brought up the Rear (those order'd for the *Fleet*, Filing off from them at the Bridge of that Name) and were

receiv'd under the Gate by the Officers of
 the said Prison, who, to give them their
 due, shew'd more Compassion than is usu-
 ally seen to arise from the Breasts of People
 whose Function seems to entitle them to the
 Commitment of Acts of Cruelty and Inhu-
 manity : For the Prisoners were no sooner
 alighted from their Horses, and their Names
 call'd over, but their Cords were immedi-
 ately cut from their Arms and Shoulders, and
 Refreshments of Wine brought them. Their
 Number was about Seventy, amongst whom
 in particular, I could not but cast my Eye
 upon one *Mr. Archibald Botair*, a Youth in
 Highland Dress, who in the Sixteenth Year
 of his Age, was said to have signaliz'd his
 Courage, and to have display'd as much
 skill and dexterity in Feats of Arms at
 the Battle of *Preston*, as the oldest Com-
 mander of them all; Brigadier *M'Intosh*
 himself, tho' train'd up in Warlike Affairs,
 not excepted. What induced me to distin-
 guish him from the rest, was the fearless
 way of Expression he made use of when the
 Clerk of the Prison, who was desirous of
 easing him, as much as in him lay, cut his
 Cords. *By my Soul Man*, said he, *you should*
not have done that, but have kept it whole, that
I might have either been Hang'd with it, or
have it to shew, if I escap'd the Gallows, how I
had been led like a Dog in a string for twice
Two Miles together : But since it is done there
is no Remedy, and my next Care is to know what
Prisons

Prisons my Followers are confin'd in, which I must desire you to make enquiry about, since they are brought so many Miles from home, out of Observance to my Orders, and I hold my self obliged to see they do not want. Hereunto he receiv'd a satisfactory Answer, and with some others, was conducted to his Chamber, which as luckily as I could wish, happen'd to be that wherein I was Lodg'd, and which had Two additional Beds put up in it, not so much for the Convenience of the Prisoners, as the Prison-Keeper, who by Four Beds in one Room, filled each with Three Tenants, and got six Pounds *per Week*, besides the Sums formerly mention'd for Entrance-Money. Mr. *Forster*, who thought himself ill-used and slighted because not Imprison'd in the *Tower* in Consideration of his Seat in Parliament, which he was not then Expell'd from, and *Francis Anderton Esq;* commonly called Sir *Francis*, a Gentleman of 2000 *l. per Annum*, had Appartments, and were Boarded at the Governor's House at Five Pounds each *per Week*; and the Rest of the Chiefs of the Rebellion, Col. *Oxbrough*, Brigadier *M'Intosh*, the Two Mr. *Talbots*, *Shaftoe's*, Mr. *Wogan*, and Capt. *Menzies*, &c. with their Adherents and Servants, were clap'd up into Places, with barbarous Names to them, as the *Lyon's Den*, the *Middle Dark*, &c. after they had advanc'd more Money to be admitted to the Favour of getting *Louise* in them, than would almost have pay'd the

Rent

Rent of the best House in St. James's Square,
or Piccadilly, for several Years.

C H A P. VIII.

Of the Author's Discourse with young Mr. Botair, his Account of himself and the Attack at Preston, with the Causes of the Rebels surrender, and the Reasons which induced him to take Arms, &c.

THE Morning had scarce begun to pierce thro' our Iron Windows; which were so darken'd with Bars as to admit very little Light into them, when my new Chamber-fellows, either thro' their Dislike of Lying so hard, or their uneasiness under their Melancholy Circumstances, were got up, and Paraded about the Room; which made me do the like, and out of Civility, as they were Strangers, to acquaint them with the Customs of the House. But as I had a more particular Inclination to be let into the Particulars of young Botair's Conduct; which *Florimel*, thro' the Means of his Correspondence, spoke so very largely and advantageously of; so I laid hold of the Opportunity when the Turnkey came to open the Door, and to give us the Liberty of going down into the *Press-yard*, to single him out, and to desire of him that Satisfaction, which he

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very readily consented to in the Presence
 of *Florimel*. after this manner : ‘ You must
 ‘ know, Gentlemen, that my Father being
 ‘ dead, I was wholly entrusted to the Care
 ‘ of my Mother, who, exclusive of my
 ‘ Estate, which is about One Hundred
 ‘ Pounds *Stirling, per Annum*, a sufficient
 ‘ Income for a *Scottish* Gentleman, has as
 ‘ much more, and caused me to be put to
 ‘ the University at *Aberdeen*. But my said
 ‘ Patrimony being held in Vassalage of the
 ‘ Duke of *Athol*, who is our Chief; and
 ‘ my Clan, of which I am the Laird, being
 ‘ compos’d of about Threescore Men; ac-
 ‘ cording to Custom, held immemorially
 ‘ amongst the *Scots*, both I and they had
 ‘ Summonses to attend the Standard put up
 ‘ by the Earl of *Mar*, from the Marquis of
 ‘ *Tullibardine* our said Chief’s Eldest Son.
 ‘ After which, we among others, were
 ‘ detach’d from the Earl’s Army, to join
 ‘ the *English* that had taken Arms in *Nor-*
 ‘ *thumberland*. I need not tell you with
 ‘ what Difficulty we pass’d the *Firth* in
 ‘ Sight, and under the Fire of Four *Eng-*
 ‘ *lish* Men of War; nor of the Success of
 ‘ our March in making our Way good
 ‘ thro’ all Opposition, till we joined the
 ‘ Earls of *Wintoun*, *Nithisdale*, and *Carn-*
 ‘ *math*, and got up with our Friends the
 ‘ *English*, whom our Leaders would have
 ‘ perswaded with all the Conviction of
 ‘ Reason that was possible on their sides

to have March'd *Westward* into *Scotland*, and so by possessing our selves of *Dumfreis* and *Glasgow*, to have provided our selves with Arms, Money, and Ammunition, and to have fallen upon the Rear of the Duke of *Argyle's* Army at *Stirling*, while the Lord *Mar* should Attack him in Front, he not having then with him above Three Thousand Men. But such was their invincible Obstinacy, and the ill Fate that attended us All, that the Leaders of the *English* would give no Ear to this wholesom Advice, but promising themselves Mountains from an in-road thro' *Cumberland* into *Lancashire*, would needs bend their Course that way, upon which Five Hundred very serviceable Highlanders very wisely left us, chusing rather to run the Risque of being taken and imprison'd by their own Countrymen, than to be pushed upon inevitable Death and Destruction, by attempting Impossibilities, in a Country they were utterly Strangers to.

‘ Such a Defection as a third part of the National Troops we brought from *Scotland* with us put the rest to a stand, and the other two had followed them, were it not for Assurances that we should be join'd by vast Numbers of the Disaffected, in our Rout thro' the Countries above-mention'd, where our Army would be re-inforced with Twenty Thousand

Men at least, and we should be in want of no fit Materials or Instruments to bring out the Revolution in View ; which so gained upon our Belief, as to make us undergo long and tedious Marches, without any sort of Murmur or Inquietude ; Not considering, that as we had an Enemy to follow us in the Rear, so we had one to engage with in the Front, when we came to the Place Mr. *Forster* had fix'd upon for our general Rendezvous. It will take up too much Time to enter into the Detail of our several Days Marches, be it of use enough to your Information that we came to *Preston*, whence if we had parted the next Day for *Manchester*, and taken in the rich Town of *Liverpool*, we, in all likelihood, had follow'd right Measures. But instead of this, our General and chief Officers were more intent upon their Diversion than Safety, and staid expecting Succours from the Clouds, from the beginning to the latter end of the Week, when Notice was brought them, that General *Wills* was advancing from *Wigan* to Attack us, and there were no Thoughts of getting further into the Country without coming to Blows. Hereupon a Detachment of our Foot was order'd to Post themselves at *Ribble* Bridge, about a Mile and a half from the Town, consisting of One Hundred and Fifty stout well-armed Men, commanded by

Lieutenant

Lieutenant *Farquharson* of *Innecral*, belonging to *M'Intosh's* Battalion. He was a good Officer, and a very bold Man, and would have defended that important Pass to the last Drop, and till the rest had advanced and drawn themselves out of the Town; but he was order'd back by the Brigadier, contrary to Mr. *Forster's* Opinion, who was seeking a Ford in the River *Ribble* to attack General *Wills* in the Rear, with a Detachment, while the rest of our Army gave him Employment in the Front. As for the Bridge, they might have Barricadoed it so well, that it would have been impracticable to have pass'd there, or to have dislodged them from it; we had likewise Cannon, of which King *George's* Forces had none. And here alone indeed it might be said we were in a Condition to have made an effectual Stand; for here our Adversaries would have been entire-expos'd to our Fire, having no Cover; whereas we could have very much secured our selves against the others Fire by the Bridge, and by the rising Ground near it. But *quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat*, we neither took Care of lining the Hedges leading to the Town, nor of defending the Passage of the Lane, where in some Places no more than two could ride a-breast, so that we only applied our selves to our Barricadoes, and to post our

Men

‘ Men in the Streets, By-Lanes, and
 ‘ Houses, to the greatest Advantage for all
 ‘ Events. The Gentlemen Volunteers were
 ‘ drawn up in the Church Yard, under the
 ‘ Command of the Earl of *Derwentwater*,
 ‘ Viscount *Kenmure*, Earls of *Wintoun* and
 ‘ *Nithisdale*; the Earl of *Derwentwater* sig-
 ‘ nally displaying his Intrepidity of Beha-
 ‘ viour, by being stripp’d into his Waist-
 ‘ coat, and encouraging the Men with Mo-
 ‘ ney to cast up Trenches, and animating
 ‘ them to a vigorous Defence. There
 ‘ were likewise four main Barriers formed
 ‘ on our Part, one a little below the Church
 ‘ commanded by Brigadier *M^r Intosh*, which
 ‘ was to be supported by the Gentlemen in
 ‘ the Church yard. Lord *Murray* had the
 ‘ Command of a second which was at the
 ‘ End of a Lane leading to the Fields,
 ‘ wherein I and my Followers, amongst
 ‘ others, were placed. The Third Bar-
 ‘ rier was called the *Windmill*, and defended
 ‘ by Colonel *M^r Intosh*; and the Fourth
 ‘ in a Street leading towards *Liverpool*,
 ‘ commanded by Major *Miller* and Mr. *Dou-*
 ‘ *glass*. The three first bore all the Heat
 ‘ of the Action, and as they were attack’d
 ‘ with great Fury, beat the Assailants off
 ‘ with great Bravery; and we made such a
 ‘ terrible Fire upon *Preston’s* Regiment
 ‘ from our Barrier, and the House on both
 ‘ sides of it, that a great many of that old
 ‘ and gallant Regiment were killed and
 ‘ wounded

wounded ; not but they in Return fired smartly upon us, but did little Execution, our Men being generally cover'd from their Shot, and delivering their own with good Aim ; yet some were killed, and some also wounded ; particularly two gallant Men of the same Regiment with me ; the one was Captain *Peter Farquharson* of *Rockley*, an Officer of an invincible Spirit and Bravery, who being Shot thro' the Bone of the Leg, endured a great deal of Torture in the Operation of an unskilful Surgeon. When he was first brought into the *White Bull Inn*, where all the wounded Men used to be dress'd, he took a Glas of Brandy, and said, *Come Lads, here's our Master's Health, tho' I can do no more, I wish you good Success.* After which he presently died by the Amputation of his Leg. The other Gentleman was Mr. *Clifton*, Brother to Sir *Jervas Clifton*, he was also a gallant and thoroughly accomplished Gentleman, and died some Hours after, receiving a Shot in the Knee, as did Colonel *Brereton*, who was wounded in many other Places ; tho' the first expired, distinguished most by praying for the Success of the Cause we were embarked in, and exhorting us to continue stedfast to a Man in repulsing the Enemy, who from the Reception they met with at every Attack, did not seem to Regret the Approach of the Night,

which

‘ which put a stop to any farther Action
 ‘ than giving Fire upon us from the adjacent Houses.

‘ Yet notwithstanding Things went in
 ‘ all Apperances so well on our side, and
 ‘ King *George's* Forces had lost Ten Times
 ‘ our Number; notwithstanding no Barrier
 ‘ was yet forced, and we neither wanted
 ‘ Ammunition nor any Thing else necessary
 ‘ for a vigorous Defence; notwithstanding
 ‘ we were still Masters of our Cannon, and
 ‘ all the Avenues leading to our Platform,
 ‘ such was our Infatuation, when Reasons
 ‘ of War urg'd us to March out of our
 ‘ Barriers, and Sally upon General *Wills's*
 ‘ Forces before he was joined by the Regi-
 ‘ ments under General *Carpenter*, those
 ‘ that bore the chief Command, or had too
 ‘ much Influence over those that bore it,
 ‘ so prevail'd with Mr. *Forster* (who a Day
 ‘ before had threatned Brigadier *M^r Intosh*
 ‘ with a Court Martial for disobeying his
 ‘ Commands to make that Sally) that Ar-
 ‘ ticles of Surrender were debated and a-
 ‘ greed upon, thro' the Means of the Lord
 ‘ *Widdrington*, Colonel *Oxburgh*, and the
 ‘ said Brigadier, at the same time as we
 ‘ *Highlanders* were made to beleive Ho-
 ‘ nourable Terms were offered us by Gene-
 ‘ ral *Wills*, if we would lay down our
 ‘ Arms. To which, when our Common
 ‘ Men heard the contrary, they were one
 ‘ and all against any Capitulation, and ter-
 ‘ ribly

ribly enraged at the very Design of it; declaring that they would die Fighting, and that when they could defend their Posts no longer, they would Force their Way out and make a Retreat: And tho' they were told such a Thing could not be performed without the Effusion of much Blood, and that they would infallibly, if they escaped the regular Troops, be cut off by the Country People, their Madness was such, that nothing could quiet them for a great while; so astonishing was it to see the Confusion the Town was in, threatening one another, nay, killing one another, but for naming a Surrender, two or three being Shot, and several Wounded.

Under these disquieting Circumstances, even the Life of Mr. *Forster* himself, who had ever behaved handsomly, notwithstanding all Reports to the contrary, was in great Danger, and had he appeared in the Street, he would certainly have been cut to Pieces; nor, tho' he did not appear publickly, was he altogether in Safety, since he had actually been killed in his Chamber by Mr. *Murray*, had not a Gentleman there with him, struck up the Pistol, and turn'd the Shot thro' the Wainscot into the Wall.

In fine, during these Misunderstandings among our selves, General *Carpenter* came up with two fresh Regiments of

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‘ Horse,

‘ Horse, and perfectly inclos’d the Town,
 ‘ which was open to us before in two Places,
 ‘ and we were forced to submit to the
 ‘ Conditions the two Generals were pleas’d
 ‘ to impose upon us from without, and
 ‘ ours within to receive; which made ma-
 ‘ ny of us break our Arms out of meer
 ‘ Rage, because we were no longer per-
 ‘ mitted the Use of them.

‘ What remains is so well known, *viz.*
 ‘ our Reception at the several Stages we
 ‘ came to in our Journey hither; our
 ‘ pompous Parade, in being led, like Ro-
 ‘ man Captives, for which I am bound
 ‘ heartily to thank my Stars, in providing
 ‘ me a Lady that sent me Twenty Crowns,
 ‘ which the bonny Foot Warrior that led
 ‘ my Horse, very faithfully gave me; and
 ‘ our Arrival at this our *Ne plus ultra*, that
 ‘ I shall not burthen your Memories with
 ‘ any further Recital, but conclude with
 ‘ my Request, that you will Honour me
 ‘ with your Friendship, and instruct me
 ‘ in such Matters as the distance of the
 ‘ Ancient Kingdom, wherein I have been
 ‘ Educated, has made me Ignorant of.

This *Florimel* and I readily promis’d, be-
 ing highly taken with his Modesty, who
 amidst all the Account of the aforesaid
 Action, never said any thing Advantagi-
 ous of himself, nor of Capt. *Nicholas Wo-*
gan, who was in the Hearing of the afore-
 said

said Relation, lest it might look like Flattery, which he knew that Gentleman perfectly hated; tho' for his own part, he knew that he had at least destroy'd Three or Four of the King's Men with his own Piece; and that the Captain, who is an *Irish* Gentleman, descended from an Ancient Family of that Name in *Wales*, and whose Bravery was made known by several Instances in the Action at *Preston*, as well as his Generosity, was most remarkable, in bringing off Captain *Preston* of *Preston's* Regiment of Foot, who was mortally Wounded thro' the Body by a Bullet, and just at the Point of being Cut in pieces; since he hazarded his Life among his own Men to save that Gentleman, tho' an Enemy, and was wounded in doing it. He took a great Care also of him when he was brought off; for which 'tis said he has obtain'd his Majesty's Pardon: Captain *Preston* himself, having before his Death, openly acknowledg'd the Gallantry and Generosity of the Action, and made it his earnest Request that Mr. *Wogan* should be civilly used, for his kind Behaviour to him; especially if what he said at his Decease shall be thought to have any Merit in it, viz. That the Wound he had received had only shortned his Days Two or Three Months (for he was worn to a Skeleton by a Consumption) which seeing it was in the Service of his King and Country, he said, he

preferr'd to the Lingring Death he expected.

C H A P. IX.

Of the Behaviour of the Preston Prisoners for some time before they had Notice for their Tryal; their Change of Countenance after that Notice, with the Characters of the Chief of them that had that Notice; with the Demeanour of Colonel Oxburgh, and Mr. Gascoigne after Sentence of Death; and the Escapes of Mr. Forster's, and Brigadier M'Intosh, with the Author's Releasement from Prison.

S Everal Weeks pass'd on after this Additional Number of new Companions in Misfortunes were sent into us, wherein being buoy'd up with Hopes of Life, which they were told the Grant of was always understood by a Surrender at Discretion; those unhappy Persons, without any Retrospect to the Crimes they were committed for, liv'd in so profuse a manner, and sated so Voluptuously thro' the Means of daily Visitants and Helps from Abroad, that Money circulated very plentifully; and while it was difficult to change a Guinea almost at any House in the Street, nothing was more easie than to have Silver for Gold to any quantity, and Gold for Silver in
the

the Prison. Nor did many of them, if any, and in need of Female Admirers, since there were those of the Fair Sex, from persons of the First Rank and Quality, to Tradesmens Wives and Daughters, who made a Sacrifice of their Husband's and Parent's Rings, and precious Moveables for the Use of those, whom the Law, from a due Execution of the Letter of it, had appointed to be so many Sacrifices themselves; so that till the Tryals of the Condemn'd Lords were over, two whereof, *viz.* the Earl of *Derwentwater* and Viscount *Kenmare*, lost their Heads on *Tower-Hill*, there was scarce any other thing to be seen among them, than flaunting Apparel, Venison Pasties, Hams and Chickens, and other costly Meats and Wines for the Mouth. But when the News came that they were to provide themselves with proper Council and Witnesses against the Day of Tryal, and fresh Prisoners were sent in from the *Tower* and the *Fleet*, *viz.* Mr. *Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Master of *Nairn*, Son to the Lord of that Name, Mr. *Basil Hamilton*, a Gentleman that behaved with wonderful Gallantry at the Action of *Preston*, and who since, by the Intercession of his noble Relations, that are all, or most of them, in the Interest of the present Government, has obtain'd his Majesty's most gracious Pardon, Mr. *Charles Radcliff*, Brother to the late Earl of *Der-*
wentwater,

mentwater, a Youth of extraordinary Courage, whose Bravery has obtain'd great Reputation from his very Enemies, that can bear him Witness, nothing was left undone by him, that could be perform'd by a valiant Man in Defence of a bad Cause; and whose Escape from *Newgate*, which was after I left it, will testify that he was Master of a very great Presence of Mind. Mr. *Charles* and Mr. *Peregrine Widdrington*, two Gentlemen of Diversion and Pleasure, both Papists; the two Mr. *Cottens*, Father and Son, Nonjurant Protestants, and of great Estates in *Huntingtonshire*; Mr. *Thomas Errington*, a Gentleman that had been an Officer in the *French* Service, had behaved well there, and been applauded for his Conduct at *Preston*, with the Laird of *M' Intosh*, Colonel *M' Intosh*, and Major *M' Intosh*, together with other *Scotch* Gentlemen.

It was now high Time for such as could find Means for so doing, to think of making their Escapes, especially Mr. *Forster*, who was their Leader, and of Consequence so much the more Criminal, by how much the more accounted the Forwarder and Fomentor of the Rebellion: He therefore having confer'd Notes with his Servant, who was a most excellent Artist in the Locksmith's Business, and by taking the Impression of the Key to Mr. *Pitts's* outward Door, had made another, took the Opportunity

ity, as the said Keeper of the Prison, Mr. *Anderton*, and himself were drinking *French Vine*, to send his Man for a Bottle of his Vine, and he staying longer than ordinary to follow him, under pretence of being angry at the Fellow's delay, who had secur'd the Governor's (or Keeper's) Black y locking him into the Cellar, whence he could not be heard, make what Noise he would, and stood ready to receive his Master ; so that both rushing out together, after they had left their counterfeit Key in the out side of the Door to prevent a quick Pursuit, got to *Prittlevell* in *Kent* the next Morning before Four a-Clock, with two more Horsemen. From whence they went on Board a Vessel provided for them below *Leigh*, and sail'd to *France*, where they Landed some time after.

Hereupon, a Lieutenant with Thirty Men of the Foot Guards, was order'd to go constant Duty at *Newgate*, to prevent the like for the future ; and Mr. *Pitts*, who as it appear'd afterwards by his Tryal on an Indictment of High Treason, was Innocent of Abetting that Escape, was committed close Prisoner to the Custody of *Wilcox* the Messenger, that used him in a barbarous Manner, contrary, no doubt, to the Intention of the Noble Lord that issued out the Warrant for his Confinement. But as the Preservation of Life will whet the Understanding, and put it upon hazardous

zardous Experiments, so Brigadier *M^r In-
toſh*, and ſome other Gentlemen under the
ſame deſperate Cicumſtances', viz. *Mr.
Charles Wogan*, a Perſon of very great Ac-
complishments, Natural and Acquired, two
of the *Delmehoyſ*, one the Son, and the other
a near Relation to Sir *Alexander* of that
Name; the Brigadier's Son, *Mr. James
Talbot*, and ſeveral others to the Number
of Fifteen, took a Reſolution to Liberate
themſelves from Carceration after this
manner : The Brigadier having made a
Shift to get off his Irons, and coming down
with them in his Hand under his Gown,
cauſed a Servant to knock at the Goal Door,
himſelf fitting cloſe by it; and as ſoon as
it open'd, he push'd out with great Vio-
lence, knock'd down the Turnkey and two
or three of the Centinels. One of them
made a Thrust at him with his Bayonet in
his Piece, which Thrust he Parry'd; and
ſiezing and unskrewing the Bayonet, me-
naced it at the Breſt of the Soldier, who
thereupon gave Way, and ſuffer'd him and
Fourteen more to get into the open Street,
where Eight of them were retaken, but
the Brigadier and the other Gentlemen got
clear off; but the unhappy *Mr. James
Talbot*, who two or three Days after was
diſcover'd by a Servant-maid in *Windmill-
ſtreet* near the *Hay-market*, who in Diſcourſe
at an adjacent Ale houſe, ſaid, *Her Maſter
had a Couſin come to ſee him, who had the
whiteſt*

whiteſt Hand ſhe ever ſaw in her Life. This bred Suspicion, and Suspicion cauſed Diſcovery, for the ſake of Five Hundred Pounds, which was gain'd thereby according to his Maſteſty's Proclamation, whereby One Thouſand Pounds was offer'd for the Brigadier, and half that Sum for each of the reſt.

In the mean time, the unfortunate Colonel *Oxburgh*, and Mr. *Gaſcoigne*, who was ſaid to have been offered his Pardon on certain Conditions, which he did not think fit to accept, having received Sentence of Death, were making Preparations for their great Change. The firſt in the Condemn'd Hold, with an aſtoniſhing Serenity of Mind, who when his Friends expreſs'd their Concern in Tears, ſedately rebuk'd them, and behaved himſelf with an Unconcernedneſs and Eaſineſs, very unaccuſtom'd even in the braveſt Minds under ſuch a Sentence. Theſe are the Words convey'd to me by a Friend of his who viſited him frequently, and has alſo Honour'd his Memory, after Execution, with the following Character.

‘ He was as punctual as *David* in his Devotions, and, in all Appearance, as ſincere; and when he diſcloſed his Sentiments after his Condemnation, they ſeemed to glide in upon you like a Gleam from the true God; you received Comfort from the Man you came to Comfort; you de-

‘ parted from him tinctur’d with the Saint,
 ‘ with your Breast glowing, like the two
 ‘ Disciples that convers’d with our Saviour
 ‘ at *Emaus*, and brought off an Empyrean
 ‘ Light from a Man you left in the Dun-
 ‘ geon. His Conversation after Sentence
 ‘ was usually cheerful, and when a Gen-
 ‘ tleman told him, *That were his Circum-*
 ‘ *stances all that could make a Man happy in*
 ‘ *this World, yet he would willingly swap E-*
 ‘ *states with him.* Looking at him with a
 ‘ Smile, *Why*, said he, *should you Envy me?*
 ‘ *I’ll change Conditions with no Man.* He
 ‘ seem’d to put on the Wanton, like an
 ‘ Old Man that has Married a young Wife,
 ‘ on whom he Doats, so perfectly was he
 ‘ perswaded of the J—ce of his Cause.
 ‘ Now supposing this Man was in the
 ‘ Wrong, it is certain he thought himself
 ‘ in the Right, and deserved Compassi-
 ‘ on.

The second of these unhappy Persons,
 Mr. *Gascoigne*, if the same Author may
 be credited (for I give it the Reader in
 his own Words without any Comment)
 fell no ways short of him. ‘ As my Vi-
 ‘ sits, said he, were pretty frequent to
 ‘ him (*Gascoigne*) after his Condemnation,
 ‘ I observ’d him constantly to receive me
 ‘ with his wonted Smiles and Serenity, and
 ‘ still retain’d the same compos’d Gayety
 ‘ throughout his Conversation, only say-
 ‘ ing about his Fate in general, *That he did*
 ‘ *not*

not desire God to prolong his Life, which he foresaw might be spent in Offending him, and which might be cut short, to the greater Glory of God, and his own Eternal Salvation. And what is very remarkable in the Dispatch of his Application for a Reprieve, he always appear'd as indifferent about its Success, as if it had not concern'd him, so entire was his Resignation, and so unchang'd his Temper, save that his hard Usage both before, and after his Tryal, had thrown him into a Fever; and by that Means the Loss of his Health and Beauty, had contributed to impair his Stile and Eloquence.

Again, ' Considering the Angelical Personage of the Gentleman, and the Character of his Mind, towering even to Divinity, his Body six Foot eight Inches high, strong, streight, proportionable, well shap'd; his comely Face was also of a Make so Manly, and yet so sweet, it confounded you to tell whether it was more Beautiful or Venerable; his Conversation was perfectly Polite, having been all along Educated and Conversant in the Company of the best Quality; his Discourse was easy and fluent, and, withal, so Apposite and Pathetick, you would have thought every Thing he said, Premeditated and Elaborate, if you had not heard it always the same. In fine, I do assert it, that no Man but a Blockhead

could keep Mr. *Gascoigne* Company, without becoming Eloquent. But then his manner of Treating you was so engaging, so charming, and so heavenly, there was no End of his Sweetness, and no Embittering him ; he was not only never out of Humour, but always sedately Pleasant. You always discovered in him not only an Aversion to Vice and Immorality, but he had a peculiar Genteel Way of engaging you to the better side ; so that you departed from his Conversation, not only pleas'd and instructed, but reformed and improved. He was besides, a sincere Friend, affectionate, generous and beneficent ; and as no Man could better, so no Man was readier to take off by an handsom Apology, any little Stain that might accidentally, otherwise, drop upon the Character of a Person for whom he had a Friendship. Not only all his Life, but his Death hath resplendently shewn him a Man of the first Rank of Super eminent Honour ; for in the late Rebellion, he acted in Concurrence with his Principles, and resisted such Temptations, as but very few are Proof against. *In fine*, He had in him the Constancy of a *Spaniard*, the Wisdom of the *Italian*, the Brightness of the *French-man*, and the good Humour of an *English-man* to an exalted Degree ; and I am yet short of his Character.

So much for what it behoves me rather to transcribe from others, than to assert myself; tho' during the Time that I had my Conversation with the Persons just named, and that was only during their Residence in the *Press-yard*, till their being turn'd over to the Master's-side, I could perceive nothing contrary to what is here related of them, but that they did not lay hold of the Opportunities of Repentance that were allowed them to Testifie their Abhorrence of Rebellion, which he, that gives Credit to the sacred Writings, believes no ways Inferior to the Sin of Witchcraft.

Having since the mention of these two unfortunate Gentlemen, been favour'd with our Original Letters relating to their Behavior under their Melancholy Circumstances, and the State of their Cases; it becomes me, who have taken upon me to Act the part of an Historian, to give them to the Reader, that he may form a Judgment thereby, before I go upon the further Pursuit of my intended Narration.

While Colonel *Oxburgh* was under Sentence in the Condemn'd Hold, and making Preparations for Eternity, Mr. *Gascoigne*, who was likewise Convicted of High Treason, and making his Peace with God, under close Confinement in his Chamber, wrote him a consolatory Letter, to encourage him to bear up with Equanimity

nimity and Courage under the afflicting Pressures he was loaden with; but that Letter being unfortunately lost, it is hop'd the Answer to it will be taken in good Part, especially since it comes attended by one from Mr. *Gascoigne* to his Mother, a little before his Execution, which in all probability is full as moving as that could possibly be.

Colonel Oxburgh to Mr. Gascoigne.

‘ **I** Cannot express the Satisfaction, my
 ‘ dear *Gascoigne*, which your Letter
 ‘ gives me, ’tis most Christian and Edify-
 ‘ ing, God of his infinite Goodness give me
 ‘ the Grace to Profit by it. Oh! how won-
 ‘ derful is God in his Works! How often
 ‘ have you and I, look’d upon our coming
 ‘ into *Newgate*, as the greatest Misfortune
 ‘ of our Lives! and yet if we make the
 ‘ right Use of it, our Redeemer will make
 ‘ it the Means of our Eternal Happiness.

‘ I have more Reason than any to Dread
 ‘ the fatal Moment, having pass’d a long
 ‘ Life in the greatest Sins, and having
 ‘ never done one good Action; but with
 ‘ all this, I bless my God, I have not the
 ‘ least Despair; I am so sensible of the
 ‘ Goodness of my God, and his infinite
 ‘ Love and Charity to Man, that I confi-
 ‘ dently hope in his Mercy, he will give
 ‘ me a true Sorrow for my Sins, and a sin-
 ‘ cere

cere Love of him ; and that he will receive me out of this Vale of Misery into the Arms of his Mercy.

‘ Whilst I remain here, if my unworthy Prayers can avail, you are sure of them, and I earnestly beg yours. I heartily ask your Pardon, *dear Dick*, if I have at any Time given you any Offence; I was but too apt to commit Faults, but indeed I cannot charge my self that it was done designedly, for I always loved you well.

‘ Once more I beg your Prayers, I commend you to my Saviour Jesus, by whose Merit You and I expect eternal Happiness. And I earnestly beg the Divine Majesty, that he may give you his Grace to Live and Die as becomes a true Child of God, that he may give you an untired Patience, Submission, and Conformity to his Holy Will, with a firm Confidence in his Mercy, and that you and I may, in the Heavenly Choir of the most High, sing his Praises to all Eternity. Adieu, *dear Dick*,

I am,

Your faithful Friend and Servant,

Sunday, Eleven
a-Clock.

Henry Oxburgh.

Mr.

Mr. Gascoigne to his Mother.

My most Honoured Dear Mother.

‘ I Receiv’d this Day a Packet from you,
 ‘ with a printed Paper, setting forth
 ‘ what the Man is, and was; God Almighty
 ‘ forgive him, as well as many others who
 ‘ have injur’d me. It will be no News to
 ‘ you to know my State and Condition in
 ‘ respect to this World, before you receive
 ‘ this, I trust in the Merits of my Re-
 ‘ deemer, that he will be Merciful to me;
 ‘ and as my being drove into the Condi-
 ‘ tion, in which I have been for some
 ‘ Months, has been the Finger of Provi-
 ‘ dence, so I hope it has been for the Sal-
 ‘ vation of my Soul. All I can entreat of
 ‘ you is to be comforted, and think that
 ‘ our Time in this World is but short, to
 ‘ those who are most likely to live; and I
 ‘ hope, and beg of my Saviour Jesus, that
 ‘ we may all meet in Glory.

‘ I beg my dearest Mother’s Pardon for
 ‘ all the Injuries I have done you, and the
 ‘ Uneasiness I have given you both in Mind
 ‘ and Fortune, and I hope my dearest
 ‘ Sisters will forgive me all the Prejudices
 ‘ I have done them, by prevailing on your
 ‘ Tendernefs to me to obtain large Sums
 ‘ of Money, which I ask God’s Pardon, for
 ‘ spending, and which might prejudice
 ‘ their Establishment in this nasty World,
 ‘ which

which I hope they will not think of much, but put their Confidences in the Great God, and think of our Eternal Settlement, which is only worth our Consideration.

I beg all your Prayers, and those of my Friends, and putting my Trust in the Infinite Mercies of God, and relying upon all your Interests with Him and and his Saints, and begin my hearty Service to my dearest Dear Sisters, whom I heartily loved, and to my dearest Nephew and all our Friends. I remain, and shall be eternally, and for the last Time I shall ever say so in this World, my dearest dear Mother,

Your most Obedient, and

most Dutiful Son, &c.

P. S. My Time is precious, you'll see my Paper.

O

Another

Another LETTER from Mr. Gascoigne, which was deliver'd to the Dukes of Marlborough and Argyle; and Written, but not sent, to the Earls of Orkney and Portmore, with the Generals, Stanhope, Cadogan, Lumley, Wade and others.

My Lord,

‘ **P**ERusing my Lord *Wintoun’s* Tryal, I
 ‘ find Lieutenant General *Wills* de-
 ‘ clared we Surrendred at Discretion, Lieut.
 ‘ General *Carpenter* said the same. It is
 ‘ true, the former explains his Opinion of
 ‘ *Discretion*, which the latter does not. This
 ‘ concern’d Us all, so that we consulted
 ‘ as many General Officers as we could,
 ‘ and we find all of them agree in their
 ‘ Opinion with Sir *H. B.* (Sir *Henry Bellasis*)
 ‘ a Copy of whose Letter is here inclosed.
 ‘ *My Lord*, We have also inform’d our
 ‘ selves, how the People of *Arragon*, *Va-*
 ‘ *lencia* and *Catalonia* were us’d that sur-
 ‘ render’d at *Discretion*, and find *Discretion*
 ‘ there, understood *Life saved*. This Case
 ‘ is so much ours, that We insist on it.
 ‘ Many more Examples we could give
 ‘ but your Grace knowing so perfectly all
 ‘ this Matter, We request it of your Justice
 ‘ and Generosity, that you will deliver
 ‘ your Opinion (for the Lawyers in this
 ‘ Country cannot be thought to understand
 ‘ the Terms of War): The Mareschals c

Franc

‘ *France* are of Sir. *H B*——’s Opinion,
 ‘ and I dare aver so is Prince *Eugene*. But,
 ‘ *my Lord*, it is by your Judgment we must
 ‘ be decided. We can take God to Witness
 ‘ at our Death, We understood *Surrendring*
 ‘ at *Discretion*, was to have our Live sav’d;
 ‘ but if your Grace is of a different Opini-
 ‘ on, We must submit to the Will of God.
 ‘ In Case your Grace and the rest of the
 ‘ General Officers are of our Opinion, then
 ‘ we cannot but think we are hardly dealt
 ‘ with; for we conceive publick Faith
 ‘ ought always to be kept.

Negwate, May 20.
 1716.

I am, &c.

R. Gascoigne.

Sir *H. B*——’s LETTER to Mr. *Gascoigne*.

Brainspeth-Castle, May 15. 1716.

S I R,

‘ **I** N Answer to your Letter of the 8th,
 ‘ wherein you desire my Opinion of
 ‘ the following Words SURRENDRING
 ‘ AT DISCRETION; It’s a long time
 ‘ since I served in the Army, but so far as
 ‘ I can recollect, the Troops that did Sur-
 ‘ render at Discretion us’d to have their
 ‘ Lives spared, nor do I know any Rules
 ‘ and Practices in War, that contradict

‘ my Assertion. I am particularly sorry for
 ‘ your’s and your Families Misfortunes,
 ‘ and I wish it were in my power to serve
 ‘ both them and you. I am with great
 ‘ Respect,

SIR,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant,

H. B.

Mr. Gascoigne was likewise said to have
 written the following Letter to a great Lady
 at Court; but I must own to the Reader,
 I have not the same Authority for it, as for
 the others, that are inserted, for no other
 Reason than to make this little Account as
 compleat and impartial as all matters of
 this Nature should be. However it will
 not be improper to make it Publick, as
 follows:

Madam,

‘ **A**S I have the Honour of your Friend-
 ‘ ship, and have Experienced the
 ‘ generous Effects of it, ’twould be Ingra-
 ‘ titude in me to imagine, that the summa-
 ‘ ry of my Case, howsoever shocking and
 ‘ melancholly, will be taken in ill Part.

‘ As I am a dying Man, I profess it in
 ‘ the Presence of God, upon my hopes of
 ‘ Salvation, *That the Witnesses who swore away*
 ‘ *my*

my Life, did not wear one true Word, in relation to my Indictment, God forgive them, do.

Secondly, By the Laws of Arms, and of Nations, our Cessation of Arms, Capitulation, and Surrender at Discretion, entitles us as much to our Lives, as we were the Hour we were Born, Rebels, or not Rebels; and if the Dukes of *Marlborough* and *Argyle* will, under their Hands, contradict this, I and all the other Gentlemen Prisoners will own we suffer justly: but if neither of these great Generals would Sign such an Attestation, even for his own Right Hand, if no other General in *Europe* will subscribe Mr. *Wills* his Affirmation, about *Surrender at Discretion*, then are we barbarously Murder'd.

' This may ruffle your generous and tender Heart, but my Circumstances, because your Heart is such, will not only excuse this Freedom, but as my worthy Lady will believe me grateful, it will always prompt you to interceed, and plead your utmost in Favour of, &c.

Whether the Generals herein mention'd are of the same Opinion they are insinuated to hold, I shall not take upon me to determine: But the Result of all these Gentlemens Tryals, which was Sentence of Death, made it appear, that the Law much interpreted them Traytors to their King

King and Country, justly entitled them to suffer the pains of Death, which made them have Recourse to other Expedients and Pleas for Mercy; which, with the Consequences thereof, shall be fully laid down and explain'd in the ensuing Chapter.

C H A P. X.

Of the Rebels dropping their Claim of being Treated as Prisoners that Surrender'd at Discretion, and making use of Arguments for Clemency; Precedents of which, shewn to Rebels in several Reigns, are recited at large.

THE Rebel Prisoners under Sentence of Condemnation in *Newgate*, being now satisfied by Experience, from those who so unsuccessfully made use of it, as to Suffer notwithstanding the pretended Validity of it, thought fit (as it was high time so to do) to change their pretended Plea of *Justice*, into Supplication for *Mercy*. They saw from the terrible Executions that had already past, at which those that were the Objects of the Governments Displeasure, rather incens'd offended Majesty to go on with inflicting Punishments due to their Demerits, by their last dying Speeches, wherein they gloried in the Cause the Law had Condemn'd 'em for
 bein

being embark'd in, than prevail'd with the King to lay by the Thunder, that was ready to fall on the devoted Heads of such as were yet permitted to Live: They therefore, by the Advice of a Friend who was their Fellow-Prisoner, were induc'd to come into more Politick Measures, by employing a Person to represent such Examples of Old *English* Justice Executed in Mercy, as should be met with in *English* History, to the Ministry, as might be of Force with them to Interest themselves with his Sacred Majesty in their behalf; which Examples, after a handsom Apology for themselves, which is now lost, ran thus:

‘ Force may subdue the Body, but Clemency secures that Subjection by conquering the Mind. In the Time of our First *William*, who carried his Title to the Crown on the Point of his Sword, there were divers Attempts made to shake off the heavy Yoke of his Government, which drew many to favour the Pretences of *Edgar Athelin*, as nearest to the Crown of the ejected Line, and afterwards even to invite the *Danes*, &c. Against which he seems chiefly to have secured himself by his Noble Clemency: Our Histories tell us, He seldom remembered Injuries after Submission. *Edrick*, who first Rebelled against him, he placed in Office near about him. *Gospatrick*, a
factious

factious Conspirator against him, he made
 Earl of *Gloucester*, and trusted with the
 Management of a War against the *Scots*.
Eustace Earl of *Bologne*, who in the King's
 Absence in *Normandy*, attempted to Seize
 on *Dover-Castle*, he received afterwards
 into Favour. The Earls *Morchar* and
Syward, with the Brother of *Harold*, a
 little before his Death, he releas'd out of
 Prison; and even *Edgar* himself, who se-
 veral Times attempted to recover his
 Right, he not only after Two Defections
 Pardoned, but gave him a Princely Al-
 lowance in that Age, of a Pound of Sil-
 ver a Day, besides other Livings, which
 inclin'd him to prefer Ease and Safety, be-
 fore the Fatigues and Hazards of War.
 Only *Watheof*, Earl of *Northumberland*
 and *Northampton*, of all the *English* No-
 bility, died by the base Hands of an Exe-
 cutioner in this long Reign, and that not
 till he had twice forfeited his Oath of
 Allegiance; notwithstanding which, to
 the Praise of that good-natur'd Age, he
 died by all lamented.

The success of this Conduct appear'd
 in the next Reign: *Robert*, the eldest Son
 of the deceas'd King, having Rebell'd
 against him in *Normandy*, had been gra-
 ciously Pardoned: But tho' his Father
 left that Dutchy to him, for the Possession
 of which he had been so over impatient,
 yet this Crown he gave to his second
 Son

' ceased to endeavour the Recovery of
 ' their Right, till it was agreed that *Henry*
 ' should enjoy it after his Death. *Henry*
 ' accordingly succeeded, and having no
 ' Competitor to the Crown, was free from
 ' intestine Troubles, but what issued from
 ' his own Bowels. He had given his Son
 ' too early a Taste of Power, by Crowning
 ' him in his Life Time, and the ambitious
 ' young Man, by the Jealousy of his Mo-
 ' ther, and the Policy of the *French King*,
 ' was encouraged to Insurrections against
 ' his Father ; but these were composed
 ' without Executions, and such of the Re-
 ' bel Lords as had been taken Prisoners
 ' were set at Liberty, giving Security and
 ' Oaths for their Allegiance. To this *Hen-*
 ' *ry*, *Richard* succeeded, of whose Absence
 ' in the *Holy Land*, his Brother *John* en-
 ' deavour'd to take some Advantage, for
 ' which Reason the King, at his Return
 ' dispossess'd him of his Estates ; but was
 ' reconcil'd to him without any Interposi-
 ' tion of the Hangman.

' This *John* was the fifth Son of *Henry II*
 ' and after the Death of *Richard*, mount-
 ' ed the Throne to the Prejudice of *Arthur*,
 ' his Nephew, who was Son to the fourth
 ' Brother : But tho' he had the good For-
 ' tune to rid himself soon of the Pretender
 ' to his Crown, who was taken Prisoner
 ' and by his Death in that miserable State
 ' determin'd that Dispute ; yet, after h

' wa

‘ was freed from that Obstacle, endeavouring to raise his Power too high on the
 ‘ Ruin of his Peers, whose Castles and Estates he destroy’d, they, in return, having no Pretender to fly to, called in
 ‘ *Lewis* the Dauphin of *France*, and tho’ they afterwards deserted him, yet they
 ‘ never ceased their Struggles with this King and his Son, till they got the Liberties of their Country confirm’d by the
 ‘ famous Statute of *Magna Charta*; and had these two Kings added Blood to Forfeitures and Devastations, ’tis probable it
 ‘ had cost dearer to them and their Posterity.

‘ *Edward* I. Reign’d Thirty Three Years without any intestine Commotions; and
 ‘ tho’ the weak Government of his Son, called for the Assistance of the Hatchet
 ‘ under the next Successor, it was only to cut down some tall Trees which over-
 ‘ top’d their Neighbours, and even shadow’d the Throne.

‘ In the time of *Richard* II. was the famous Insurrection of *Wat Tyler*, wherein,
 ‘ tho’ innumerable Robberies, Out-rages, and Murthers had been committed, yet
 ‘ no sooner was that Mob-Leader kill’d by *Walworth* Lord Mayor of *London*, but his
 ‘ Followers immediately crying for Mercy, and throwing down their Arms, the
 ‘ King not only hinder’d his Friends from falling upon them, but sent them the

‘ Charter of free Pardon; and tho’ the Ex-
 ‘ travagance of other Rebellions about that
 ‘ Time, provok’d a more severe Castiga-
 ‘ tion, yet those that suffer’d, bore no Pro-
 ‘ portion to the Number engag’d in them.

‘ *Henry IV.* snatch’d the Crown
 ‘ from the Head of this unfortunate
 ‘ Prince, and to cement his ill-got Power,
 ‘ shed more Blood than any King be-
 ‘ fore or since. From this Usurpation
 ‘ arose the unhappy Contests between the
 ‘ Houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, which
 ‘ drein’d Oceans of the best Blood in the
 ‘ Nation. In the mean time, redress of
 ‘ Grievances did but multiply Oppressions;
 ‘ Right and Wrong chang’d Names; Par-
 ‘ ty Revenge was prosecuted under the
 ‘ Veil of Publick Justice; Loyalty in
 ‘ one Year was Treason in the next; the
 ‘ Laws were prostituted to give a Sanction
 ‘ to Confiscation and Murder, and like a
 ‘ two edg’d Sword, cut both ways; and
 ‘ all the while the poor harraß’d People,
 ‘ got no more Ease in changing Sides, than
 ‘ a Man in a Fever.

‘ Yet in all these Civil Broils, except
 ‘ what was done in Heat of Action, the
 ‘ Arrows of Death flew above the Heads
 ‘ of the inferiour Gentry and Commonal-
 ‘ ty; and even in the famous Rebellion of
 ‘ *Jack Cade*, tho’ after its Suppression a-
 ‘ bove Five Hundred were found Guilty,
 ‘ yet Eight only were Executed.

‘ The

‘ The Reign of that wise Prince *Henry VII.* was molested by several Rebellions, some founded on pretended Titles, but more occasion’d by his heavy Taxations. In the first, even the Impostor *Simmel*, and his Tutor the Priest, were suffer’d to live. In the Northern Rebellion, the Leader *John a Chamber*, with a few only of his Accomplices, were Executed, but all the rest Pardoned. It is true, that of the Followers of *Perkin Warbeck*, about One Hundred and Sixty died by the Hand of the Executioner, but these were a Parcel of Profligates and Sea-Robbers : And of the *Cornish* Rebels, after their Defeat at *Black Heath*, only three were Executed, and none of the rest made Slaves, but freely pardoned.

‘ It is said of *Henry VIII.* That he never spared Woman in his Lust, nor Man in his Anger, yet his Anger scorned to stoop to a mean Quarry. The Alterations in Religion caused several Alterations in his Reign. In *Lincolnshire* they assembled Twenty Thousand Men, of which only Fifteen were Executed : Of the *Yorkshire* Rebels, only two Abbots and a few others suffered : And in *Biggot’s* Rebellion in the *North*, about Sixty, who were surpris’d, *Flagrante Bello*, were Executed ; as Seventy Four had been some Time before out of above Twelve Thousand, and all the rest, in both Rebellions, freely pardoned.

‘ In *Kit* the *Tanner’s Norfolk Rebellion*,
 ‘ in the Time of *Edward VI.* when there
 ‘ were above Twenty Thousand Men in
 ‘ Arms, only the Ring-leader himself, and
 ‘ Nine more were Hang’d : And even in
 ‘ *Wyatt’s Rebellion* against *Queen Mary*,
 ‘ that Monster of Cruelty as she is repre-
 ‘ sented, not Sixty were Executed, which
 ‘ was done in Heat of Blood, within a Fort-
 ‘ night after they were taken ; and the res-
 ‘ being about Four Hundred, were par-
 ‘ doned and set at Liberty, by a Popish
 ‘ Queen, and a Popish Ministry.

‘ I think, *says the Author, whom I sha-*
 ‘ *not vindicate, and who speaks in his ow-*
 ‘ *Person, because he would not seem employe-*
 ‘ *by the Prisoners before mentioned, I hav-*
 ‘ *gone thro’ all the English Rebellions pre-*
 ‘ *cedent to that fatally successful one again-*
 ‘ *King Charles I.* I shall only import tw
 ‘ Modern Instances from Abroad, and from
 ‘ Countries most exclaim’d against for A
 ‘ bitrary Government and Popish Cruelt
 ‘ The first from the *Cevennes*, where,
 ‘ the Time of the late War, we ende
 ‘ vour’d to foment a Rebellion, and lan
 ‘ ed Troops to support it ; about Thr
 ‘ Hundred Gentlemen, who were the
 ‘ secured till the Danger was over, at
 ‘ their Rebellion quell’d, their Impriso
 ‘ ment was look’d upon as a sufficient P
 ‘ nishment, and without any other, we
 ‘ they set at Liberty ; so little did th

French Tyrant, as we call him, care to Dye his Hands in the Blood of his Subjects.

‘ The other is that of the *Catalans*, who having acknowledged King *Philip*, and submitted to his Government, yet without preceding Grievances, took up Arms against him, called in Foreign Troops, and for several Years deaf to repeated Offers of Pardon and Security for their Lives and Estates, refused all Conditions, but such as could not be granted without the greatest Danger to that King and his Loyal Subjects, maintain’d a bloody War against him ; nay, after the Prince to whom they had transferr’d their Allegiance had deserted them, and in the genuine Sense of the Word, *abdicated* them, and the Foreign Troops were withdrawn, still obstinately continued in Arms, and having lost their Country by Inches, defended their Capital to the last Extremity ; yet after all the Blood and Treasure, that War and Siege had exhausted from the Publick, they no sooner, when beaten from the Breach, cry’d for Mercy in the Streets and from the Windows, but a Stop was put to both Slaughter and Plunder, tho’ the Town had been held out by the Citizens themselves, and not by a Body of Troops who by Force possess’d it : Nor were any put to Death afterwards, a few excepted,

‘ who

' who this undeserved Mercy could not re-
 ' strain from new Conspiracies. All the
 ' Punishments inflicted were only the Im-
 ' prisonment of some who had been Chief
 ' in Command, and the Banishment of two
 ' or three Hundred Priests and other In-
 ' cendiaries. Several, indeed, during the
 ' Course of the War, had gone thro' the
 ' Hands of the *Provo'*, but these were only
 ' Murderers and Banditti, whom all the
 ' Laws of Arms and Nations make liable
 ' to that Fate, and who indeed ought to
 ' be destroyed like wild Beasts.

' That severe Government has since
 ' made a further Step, which I doubt will
 ' hardly be followed by those who pretend
 ' to much greater Lenity. That King a-
 ' bout Six Months since, has published
 ' Decree, whereby he has annulled all those
 ' made during the War; by which the *Spaniards*,
 ' and other Subjects of that Mon-
 ' archy, who had engaged in the Service
 ' or acted in Favour of the House of *Au-*
 ' *stria*, were declared Rebels; ordaining
 ' that they shall be restored to their Ho-
 ' nours, good Name, and Estates, pro-
 ' vided they are Resident within that King's
 ' Dominions. This is surely the right Way
 ' to restore Peace and Concord, to go to the
 ' Root of Rebellion, and to put an End to
 ' all Heart-burnings and Divisions; for as
 ' *Solomon* tells us, *He that covereth a Tran-*
 ' *gression seeketh Love, but he that repeateth*
 ' *Matter separates very Friends.*

' Be

Besides, not only Mercy and Policy; but Justice and the Law of Nature seems strongly to plead in the Behalf of those who are at present the Objects of our Severity. The Illustrious *Hugo Grotius*, in his famous Treatise upon the *Law of War and Peace*, Part 3. Chap. 46. proves irrefragably by Clouds of Examples both Sacred and Profane, That Captives, and they that Yield, are not to be slain; and particularly in Chap. 47. where he Answers all Objections; His Words are as follow : *The Benefit which is hoped from Terror for the Future, appertains not to the giving of a Right to kill. For a more obstinate Affection to ones Own Side; if the Cause is not altogether Dishonourable, it deserves not Punishment; or if there is any Punishment thereof, it ought not to amount to Death, for an equal Judge would not so determine.*

Thus far the above mention'd, who is here quoted without Alteration, and may seem to have given his Opinion too freely, and in too didactical a Style, considering what Eyes it was to be laid before; for tho' it was not immediately address'd to the Ministry, it was intentionally directed to them. What Effects it had, I shall not take upon me to determine, since Arcana's of State are, and ought to be, imperceptible to Vulgar Eyes, and it is none of my Province to search into them. However,

I can with Truth affirm, That but two more Executions follow'd those of the Two unhappy Persons before mention'd; the Manner of which, and their Behaviour at the Fatal Tree, shall be recited at large in the following Chapter.

C H A P. XI.

Of the Consternation the rest of the Condemn'd Prisoners were under after the Execution of Mr. Gascoigne, which was justly increas'd by the Displeasure the Government had Reason to take at the Bold Speeches and Behaviour of Mr. Paul the Clergy-man, and Mr. Hall the Justice of Peace, who were the last of the Rebels that suffer'd at Tyburn, and whose Dying Words, and Treatment at the Place of Execution, are set down at large, for the satisfaction of those, as may otherwise impeach the Government for want of Lenity.

THE Government, tho' sufficiently provok'd by the Obstinacy of those that suffer'd for the Rebellion, but yet gloried in their being concern'd in it, had now favourable Dispositions toward sheathing the Sword of Justice, after it had been for some Time Drawn for the Punishment of Delinquents, thereby to deter others from the Practice of the like Crimes. Therefore having maturely weigh'd the Na-
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ture and Circumstances of each Condemn'd Person's Crimes, the King and Council gave Orders for the Execution of Mr. *Will. Paul* a Clergy-man, and *John Hall* Esq; the one as an Example to all such of the Holy Robe as should distinguish themselves by the like disloyal Practices; and the other in *Terror* to all others who should act against the Government in being, whilst they had the King's Commission of the Peace in their Pocket. As for the First, Mr. *William Paul*, he had been bred at *St. John's College* in *Cambridge*, and from thence, after receiving Holy Orders, been Instituted and Inducted into the Vicaridge of *Orton on the Hill* in *Leicestershire*, where having been a very great stickler on the side of that Party which is called the *High Church*, and hearing of the Insurrection in *Northumberland*, he went and join'd the Rebels with young Mr. *Cotton* of *Huntingdonshire*, in *Lancashire*, Dress'd in a Lay-Habit, and continued with them till the Day before the Action at *Preston*; when he took Leave of them, under pretence of being Serviceable to them elsewhere, and was stop'd by General *Wills*, who seeing him, then, in a Clergy-man's Robes, suffer'd him to Pass, after a short Examination: So that he was not taken amongst the rest of the Rebel Prisoners, but accidentally laid hold of in *London* by a *Leicestershire* Justice of the Peace that saw him pass by, and deliver'd him into the Hands

of Justice. This Gentleman, if any, might have Pleaded *Not Guilty*, by Reason that he was not taken in Arms, and some Difficulties that might have arisen as to matters of Law in Favour of him: But whether he Resolv'd to follow the Method taken by most of his Fellow Prisoners, who Pleaded Guilty, for want of Evidence to prove themselves otherwise; or by so doing, he was in hopes to have his Life spar'd, he flung himself on the Mercy of the Court without standing a Tryal; whereas the last, *John Hall Esq;* of *Otterburn* in the County of *Northumberland*, very resolutely stood his, and made such a Defence as had well nigh clear'd him, and was thought in the Opinion of one of the Judges on the Bench to be of such Weight, as to have obtain'd for him another Verdict.

As these Two Gentlemen were different in their Opinions concerning their respective Pleas, so they were different in their Behaviour after Sentence of Condemnation. Mr. *Paul* for his part, who might well be suppos'd to be better read in Lectures of Christian Resignation, seem'd impatient under the Terrors of Approaching Death for some Time, and applied himself to Means for obtaining a Pardon by the Interposition of Friends, tho' I shall not take upon me to aver the Five Letters publish'd as his, in the *Daily Courant*, and directed
to

the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bp. of *London*, and Lord Viscount *Townshend*, to be genuine, since the Speech said to be made by him, by the spelling seems to prove the Contrary. However, at last, when all Hopes of life were vanish'd, he got the better of his fears, and he who seem'd almost in a state of death before Execution, was now possess'd with a Liveliness of Joy at the Thoughts of his sudden going to it: So far had a certain Nonjurant Clergyman, who visited both Him and Mr. *Hall*, and who assisted them in their Preparations for Death, joy'd him up with the Justice of the cause for which he died, and of the Truth of the New Religion, he had embraced; for, both the one and the other had abjur'd communion with the Church of *England* now by Law Establish'd.

But Mr. *Hall* from the first Moment to the last, behav'd himself with the same gallantry and Intrepidity, as he acted at *Weston*, and as He there gave Extraordinary proofs of Humane Courage; so here he was not wanting to display remarkable tokens of Divine Resolution in patient quiescence under the Dispensations of providence, that (as he often said to me) *made use of the Rod of its Displeasure to bring him to Salvation*. He had spent most of the Ready Money he was possess'd of in Fees for Reprives, tho' he spent little or no Time in obtaining them, being sensible he

he should be at last mark'd out for an Example, by Vertue of the Commission which he before held. For this end he had written his Speech, which I saw under his own Hand, some Weeks before he suffer'd, and which is sufficient to contradict the Report of his going over to the Nonjurant Communion with Mr. *Paal*, the Night before Execution, and which, it is very probable by shewing to others that came near him might reach the Government's Ears, and hasten his Death. For, if I am not misinform'd, when Interest was making in Favour of this unfortunate Gentleman to certain Minister, That Request had for Answer, *By no means, my good Lord; 'twere pity Mr. Hall should lose the Opportunity of leaving such a Speech behind him, as he gives out will rouse up the Spirits of the whole Nation to be of the same mind with him, and will be Instrumental in bringing in the Person whom he calls his Lawful Sovereign King James the 3d.*

When, in Obedience to the fatal Warrant these Two Gentlemen were brought down from their Chambers into the Yard, they were to be Pinion'd by the Yeoman of the Hammer, who is the youngest Officer belonging to the Sheriff of *London*, in order to be put into the Sledge, each of them kiss'd the Cords they were to be Tied with, and having Saluted their Fellow Prisoners, and taken their Leaves of them, by recommen-

ing themselves to their Prayers, departed with such serenity of Looks, as rather shew'd their *Desire to be Dissolv'd and be with Christ*, than any Concern for their approaching Catastrophe.

How they were insulted in their Passage to Execution is so well known, and so recent in every one's Memory, that it needs not be repeated ; only it is to be observ'd, that one of those who did it, by throwing something at Mr. *Hall*, who in return made a Bow by way of Thanks from the Sledge, was soon after Executed himself for Murder on the same Gallows ; and how they behav'd at the Place where they suffer'd, amidst the Unchristian Reproaches of some Persons of Note, that interrupted them during their preparations for Eternity, has been so often set down, and so well attested already in Print, that I shall forbear the Recital ; it being thought fit only to re-print their Speeches, which from the bold Expressions contain'd in them, and the manifest Arraignment of the Legality and Justice of the Government now in being, might have had very fatal Effects upon the rest of their surviving fellow Prisoners and Companions, had His Majesty and his most Honourable Privy Council been as Vindictive in giving the Reins to Revenge and Displeasure, as *they* were impolitick in discovering their last Sentiments with all Bitterness and Gall without any Restraint. I say

say, impolitick, for the Reasons above-mention'd, since the poor unhappy Gentlemen then, and now remaining under Sentence of Death, were, not without Reason, apprehensive of their being suddenly dispatch'd out of the World after the same manner which they were, since they might justly be suspected to be of the same Principles, and of Consequence as little worthy to partake of Lenity and Compassion as they. As for their private Sentiments, I shall make no manner of Comment upon them. Their Words will sufficiently discover them, which are thus transcribed Verbatim, from the Originals left in the Hand of Mr. Charles Radcliffe.

The Paper which Mr. Paul read, and deliver'd to the Sheriff at the Place of Execution, the 13th of July 1716.

Good People,

I Am just going to make my Appearance in the other World, where I must give an Account of all the Actions of my past Life, and tho' I have endeavour'd to make my Peace with God, by sincerely repenting of all my Sins; yet, for as much as several of them are of a Publick Nature, I take it to be my Duty to declare here, in the face of the World, my hearty Abhorrence and Detestation of them.

And First, I ask Pardon of God and the King, for having Violated my Loyalty, by taking
most

most abominable Oaths in Defence of Usurpation, against my Lawful Sovereign King James III.

And as I ask Pardon of all Persons whom I have Injur'd or Offended, so I do especially desire Forgiveness of all those whom I have Scandaliz'd by Pleading Guilty : I am sensible that it is a base and dishonourable Action, that it is inconsistent with my Duty to the King, and an entire Surrender of my Loyalty. Humane Frailty, and too great a desire of Life, together with the Persuasions of several who pretended to be my Friends, were the Occasion of it. I trust God of his infinite Mercy, upon my sincere Repentance, has forgiven me ; and I hope all good Christians will.

You see, my Country-men, by my Habit, that I die a Son, tho' a very unworthy one, of the Church of England ; but I would not have you think that I am a Member of the Schismatical Church, whose Bishops set themselves up in Opposition to those Orthodox Fathers, who were unlawfully and invalidly deprived by the Prince of Orange. I declare that I renounce that Communion, and that I die a dutiful and faithful Member of the Non-juring Church ; which has kept it self free from Rebellion and Schism, and has preserv'd and maintain'd true Orthodox Principles, both as to Church and State. And I desire the Clergy, and all Members of the Revolution Church, to consider what Bottom they stand upon, when their Succession is grounded upon an unlawful and

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invalid

invalid Deprivation of Catholick Bishops; the only Foundation of which Deprivation, is a pretended Act of Parliament.

Having ask'd Forgiveness for my self, I come now to Forgive others. I pardon those, who under the Notion of Friendship, perswaded me to Plead Guilty. I heartily forgive all my most inveterate Enemies, especially the Elector of Hanover, my Lord Townshend, and all others who have been Instrumental in putting me to Death. Father forgive them. Lord Jesus have Mercy on them, and lay not this Sin to their Charge.

The next Thing I have to do, Christian Friends, is to exhort you all to return to your Duty. Remember that King James III. is your Rightful Sovereign, by the Laws of the Land, and the Constitution of the Kingdom. And therefore if you would perform the Duty of Justice to him, which is due to all Mankind, you are obliged in Conscience to do all you can to restore him to his Crown: For it is his Right, and no Man in the World beside himself can Lawfully claim a Title to it: And as it is your Duty to serve him, so it is your Interest; for till he is restored, the Nation can never be happy; you see what Miseries and Calamities have befallen these Kingdoms by the Revolution: And I believe you are now convinced by woful Experience, that swerving from God's Laws, and thereby putting yourselves out of his Protection, is not the Way to secure you from those Evils and Misfortunes.

Fortunes which you are afraid of in this World. Before the Revolution, you thought your Religion, Liberties and Properties in Danger: And I pray you to consider how you have preserved them by Rebelling. Are not they Ten Times more precarious than ever? Who can say he is certain of his Life or Estate, when he considers the Proceedings of the present Administration? And as for your Religion, is it not evident, that the Revolution, instead of keeping out Popery, has let in Atheism? Do not Heresies abound every Day; and are not the Teachers of false Doctrines patroniz'd by the great Men in the Government? This shews the Kindness and Affection they have for the Church. And to give you another Instance of their Respect and Reverence for it, you are now going to see a Priest of the Church of England murder'd for doing his Duty; for it is not me they strike at so particularly, but it is thro' me that they would wound the Priesthood, bring a Disgrace upon the Gown, and Scandal upon my sacred Function: But they would do well to remember, That he who despises Christ's Priests, despises Christ; and he who despises him, despises him that sent him.

And now, Beloved, if you have any regard to your Country, which lies bleeding under these dreadful Extremities, bring the King to his Just and Undoubted Right: That is the only way to be freed from these Misfortunes, and to secure all those Rights and Privileges which are in Danger at present. King James has

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promised to protect and defend the Church of England: He has given his Royal Word to consent to such Laws, which you your selves shall think necessary to be made for its Preservation. And his Majesty is a Prince of that Justice, Vertue, and Honour, that you have no manner of Reason to doubt the Performance of his Royal Promise. He studies nothing so much as to make you all easie and happy, and whenever he comes to his Kingdom, I doubt not but you will be so.

I shall be heartily glad, good People, if what I have said has any Effect upon you, so as to be Instrumental in making you perform your Duty. It is out of my Power now to do any Thing more to serve the King, than by employing some of the few Minutes I have to live in this World, in praying to Almighty God to shower down his Blessings, Spiritual and Temporal upon his Head, to Protect him and Restore him; to be favourable to his Undertakings; to prosper him here, and Reward him hereafter. I beseech the same infinite Goodness to Preserve and Defend the Church of England, and to restore it to all its just Rights and Privileges. And lastly, I pray God to have Mercy upon me, pardon my Sins, and receive my Soul into his everlasting Kingdom, that with the Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, I may Praise and Magnific him for Ever and Ever. Amen.

As to my Body, Brethren, I have taken no manner of Care of it; for I value not the Bar-
barous

barous Part of the Sentence, of being cut down and quarter'd. When I am once gone I shall be out of the Reach of my Enemies; And I wish I had Quarters enough to send to every Parish in the Kingdom, to testify that a Clergyman of the Church of England was Martyr'd for being Loyal to his King.

July 13. 1716.

WILLIAM PAUL.

The SPEECH of JOHN HALL, Esq;

Friends, Brethren, and Country-men,

I Am come here to Die for the Sake of GOD, my King, and my Country, and I heartily rejoice that I am counted worthy of so great an Honour; for let not any of you think that I am come to a shameful and ignominious End. The Truth and Justice of the Cause for which I suffer, makes my Death a Duty, a Vertue, and an Honour. Remember that I lay down my Life for asserting the Right of my only Lawful Sovereign King *James III.* That I offer my self a Victim for the Liberties and Happiness of my dear Country, and my beloved Fellow-Subjects: That I fall a Sacrifice to Tyranny, Oppression, and Usurpation. In short, consider that I suffer in Defence of the Commands of God, and the Laws and Hereditary Con-
stitution

‘stitution of the Land, and then know,
 ‘and be assured, that I am not a Traytor
 ‘but a Martyr.

‘I declare that I die a true and sincere
 ‘Member of the Church of *England*, but
 ‘not of the Revolution Schismatical Church,
 ‘whose Bishops have so Rebelliously abandon’d the King, and so shamefully given
 ‘up the Rights of the Church, by submitting to the Unlawful, Invalid, Lay-
 ‘Deprivations of the Prince of *Orange*.
 ‘The Communion I die in, is that of the
 ‘true Catholick Non-juring Church of
 ‘*England*; And I pray God to Prosper and
 ‘Increase it, and to grant, if it be his good
 ‘Pleasure, that it may Rise and Flourish.

‘I heartily beg Pardon of all whom I
 ‘have in any manner Injur’d or Offended.
 ‘I do particularly implore Forgiveness of
 ‘God and my King, for having so far
 ‘swerv’d from my Duty, as to comply
 ‘with the Usurpation, in swearing Allegiance to it, and acting in Publick Posts
 ‘by the Usurper’s Commissions, which
 ‘were void of all Power and Authority.
 ‘God knows my Heart, I did this at first
 ‘thro’ Ignorance and Error, but after I
 ‘had recollected my self, and inform’d
 ‘my Judgment better, I repented, and
 ‘drew my Sword for the King; and now
 ‘submit my self to this violent Death
 ‘for his Sake. I heartily pray God my
 ‘Penitence and my Sufferings may atton-
 ‘fo

for my former Crimes : And this I beg thro' the Merits, Mediation, and Sufferings of my dearest Saviour Christ Jesus.

‘ I do sincerely forgive all my Enemies, especially those who have either caused or increased the Destructions in Church or State. I pray God have Mercy upon them, and spare them, because they are the Work of his own Hand, and because they are redeem'd with his Son's most precious Blood. I do particularly forgive from the Bottom of my Heart, the Elector of *Brunswick* who Murders me ; my unjust and pretended Judges and Jury who Convicted and Condemned me ; Mr. *Patten* and Mr. *Carnaby*, Evidences who Swore against me at my Tryal : And I do hereby declare upon the Words of a dying Man, (and all my *Northumberland* Fellow Prisoners can testify the same) that the Evidence they gave was so far from being the Truth, the whole Truth, and nothing but the Truth, that in relation to my Indictment they Swore not one true Thing against me, but many absolute Falshoods. I pray God forgive them, for I am sure I do.

‘ Lastly, I forgive all who had any Hand in the Surrender at *Preston*, for they have Surrender'd away my Life ; and I would to God that were the only bad Consequence of it. But alas ! it is too plain, that the Surrenderers not only
 ‘ ruin'd

‘ ruin’d many of his Majesty’s brave and
 ‘ faithful Subjects, but gave up their King
 ‘ and Country into the Bargain. For it
 ‘ was then in their Power to have restor’d
 ‘ the King with Triumph to the Throne,
 ‘ and thereby to have made us a happy
 ‘ People. We had repulsed our Enemies
 ‘ at every Attack, and were ready, willing,
 ‘ and able to have Attack’d them. On
 ‘ our side, even our Common Men were
 ‘ Brave, Courageous, and Resolute; on
 ‘ the other Hand, their’s were directly
 ‘ the contrary: Insomuch, that after they
 ‘ had run away from our first Fire, they
 ‘ could never be brought so much as to en-
 ‘ deavour to stand a second. This I think
 ‘ my self in Justice oblig’d to mention, that
 ‘ Mr. *Wills* may not impose upon the World,
 ‘ as if he and his Troops Conquer’d us,
 ‘ and gain’d the Victory; For the Truth is,
 ‘ that after we had Conquer’d them, our
 ‘ Superiors thought fit to Capitulate and
 ‘ Ruin us. I wish them God’s, and the
 ‘ King’s Pardon for it.

‘ May it please the Almighty to bless,
 ‘ preserve, and restore our only Rightful
 ‘ and Lawful Sovereign King *James III.*
 ‘ may he direct his Councils and prosper
 ‘ his Arms; may he bring him to his
 ‘ Kingdom, and set the Crown upon his
 ‘ Head; may he protect him from the
 ‘ Malice of his Enemies, and defend him
 ‘ from those who for a Reward would slay
 ‘ him

him Innocent; may he grant him in Health and Wealth long to Live; may he strengthen him that he may Vanquish and Over-come all his Enemies; and finally, when it pleases his infinite Wisdom to take him out of this World, may he take him to himself, and Reward him with an Everlasting Crown of Glory in the next.

‘ These, my beloved Country-men, are the sincere Prayers, these the last Words of me who am now a dying Person: And if you have any Regard to the last Breath of one who is just going out of the World, let me beg of you to be dutiful, obedient, and loyal to your only Sovereign Liege King *James III.* be ready to serve him, and be sure you never fail to use all your Endeavours to restore him; and whatever the Consequence be, remember that you have a good Cause, and a gracious God, and expect your Recompence from him.

‘ To that God, the God of Truth and Holiness, the Rewarder of all who suffer for Righteousness sake, I commend my Soul; beseeching him to have Mercy upon it, for the Sake of my dear Redeemer, and merciful Saviour Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen, Amen, Amen.*

July 13. 1716.

JOHN HALL.

P O S T S C R I P T.

‘ I Might reasonably have expected my
 ‘ Life would have been fav’d, since I
 ‘ had obtained Five Reprieves: But I find
 ‘ that the Duke of *Hanover*, and his Evil
 ‘ Counsellors who guide him, have so little
 ‘ Virtue and Honour themselves, that they
 ‘ are resolved not to spare my Life, be-
 ‘ cause I would not purchase it upon Base
 ‘ and Dishonourable Terms. I have rea-
 ‘ son to think, that at first I could have
 ‘ secured both Life and Fortune, if I would
 ‘ have pleaded Guilty: And I doubt not
 ‘ but I might since have obtained Favour,
 ‘ if I would have Petition’d in a vile scan-
 ‘ dalous Manner. But I was resolved to
 ‘ do nothing, whereby I might have dis-
 ‘ own’d my King, and denied my Princi-
 ‘ ples: And I thank my good God, both
 ‘ for inspiring me with this Holy Resolu-
 ‘ tion, and for giving me the Grace to per-
 ‘ form it.

July 13. 1716.

JOHN HALL.

CHAP.

C H A P. XII.

Of the Usage and Sickness of Mr. Francia the Jew, and other State Prisoners. Of the Return of Mr. Pitt to his Superintendancy over the Goal of Newgate, after his Tryal and Acquittal for Mr. Forster's Escape. Of the Petition of the Preston Rebels to the Prince and Council for their Enlargement, or more Commodious Imprisonment, by Reason of the Sickness then reigning in the Goal, with the Success of it. Of the Escapes of Mr. Budden and Mr. Radcliffe. The Death of other State Prisoners. The Removal of others into Messengers Hands. The Likelihood the Rest are under of an Act of Indemnity; with the Particulars of the Escape of Mr. George Flint, Author of the Shift Shifted; and the Releasement of the Author of this little History: To which are added, Letters omitted in the foregoing Narration, sent to a Noble English Peer, relating to the Hardships the Prisoners from Preston labour'd under.

YET tho' those at the Helm of Government were pleas'd upon the Administration of the Prince, during his Majesty's Absence in his German Territories, to put an End to the further Effusion of the Blood of the Condemn'd Prisoners, their Usage was such, by the Means of their new Keeper Mr.

Carleton Smith, who was order'd to be Overseer of the Officers of the Goal, after the Escape of *Mr. Forster*, &c. and the Imprisonment of *Mr. Pitt*, on Suspicion of his being an Abettor therein, as not only to create a Pestilential Distemper among them, which occasion'd the Deaths of *Mr. Swinburn Sen.* (the Junior having before been removed to a Mad-house as a distracted Person) *Mr. Richard Butler*, and others; but a General Desire among them for the Return of their old Governor, who was then under as close a Confinement as they, in the Hands of one *Wilcox*, a most outrageous and cruel Messenger. Amongst others that suffer'd extreme Want and Misery, was *Mr. Francia* the Jew, a Person sent thither on Account of transmitting of Letters from *Mr. Harvey* of *Combe* to *France*, and other Traiterous Correspondence; of all which he has been since Acquitted at a fair and open Tryal, held before the Lord Chief Baron *Bury*, and others of his Majesty's Judges. This unhappy Person's Hardships are inexpressible, if what is written of him in a certain Paper, and he himself affirm'd at his Tryal for Truth, be so, *viz.* ' That upon his refusing several
' base Compliances, he was loaded with
' Irons in a Dungeon, and none but his
' Keeper suffer'd to come near him for
' Seven or Eight Months; That his Wife
' was also close Confin'd in one Place, and
his

his Son in another. All his Books, Bills, Notes, and Bonds taken from him, and but for Charity he had been forced to Starve.' When upon the Return of Mr. Pitt to his Government of this Enchanted Castle, properly so called, from the many Knights Errant that lay incarcerated in it, he had somewhat more Liberty given him, as well as other State Prisoners, who did not at all Regret the Absence of Mr. *Carleton Smith*, and his Coadjutor *Cerberus*, that were dismiss'd upon his re-possessing himself of his Post. However, tho' there was somewhat more Liberty given, and more Humanity shewn than before, they were still look'd after very strictly, by the Means of the Escape of Mr. *George Budden* an Upolster formerly, near *Fleet-bridge*, but since Prisoner for being engaged in the Rebellion at *Preston*. This Escape happen'd after this manner, and was made while Mr. Pitt was himself a Prisoner: Mr. *Budden* knowing his Case to be desperate, and being possess'd of Monies and Friends to carry him clear off, provided he could get out of *Newgate*, took an Opportunity one Night over his Cups, as he was drinking with Mr. R—, the Head Turnkey of the Prison, to affront him very grossly, and not only that, but to strike him, which he knew would exasperate him so much as to make him be carried down to the *Lodge*, and there Iron'd; in the Passage to or from which

which he might find Means to make his Escape. The Stratagem took as the Prisoner desired, and he, upon the Point of being Iron'd, having express'd his Sorrow for what happen'd, whereby he made Attonement to the good-natur'd Keeper, who was a little Mellowed than ordinary, was led back by him to his former Apartment without Hat or Peruke on, which were left there behind him. Hereupon he took an Opportunity of throwing up Mr. R —'s Heels under the Gate, and of running from thence into *Newgate* Market, whence by the Means of various Windings and Turnings, he at length very luckily, some time after, arrived in *France*, having Rich that Night (as it is said) and the next Morning, Seventy Miles, he being now reported to be a Captain of Foot in the Army of Prince *Eugene*, where he will do better to Fight against the *Turks*, than his own Country-men.

The Heat of the Summer Season being now very Intense, and the close Confinement of so many Persons in one single Room having occasion'd the Distempers before mention'd, which it was feared would prove Contagious, Mr. *Radcliffe*, the two Mr. *Widdringtons*, Mr. *Murray*, and Mr. *Seaton*, who is stiled by them the Earl of *Dumferling*, and others of the principal Gentlemen, Petition'd the Prince and Council for the Enlargement of themselves and other

thers, into more commodious Prisons for the Reasons above mention'd : In Answer to which, his Royal Highness gave orders to several of the King's and his own Physicians, to make Inspection into the Grounds of their Complaint ; but they reporting no Contagious Distemper to be among them, Things were order'd to stand, as they stood, till His Majesty's Pleasure should be known at his Arrival from *Hanover*.

But Mr. *Radcliffe*, the first of the Petitioners was loath to stay so long in expectation of Relief, therefore he took hold of an Opportunity that offer'd for his Escape, at a Visit he was suffer'd to make to Capt. *Walzil* and other State Prisoners in the *Master's* side ; and a Person that used to bring Canes into the Prison, and had been an old Convict there, being tamper'd with to further it, the said young Gentleman, as he was seemingly Bargaining for a Cane ; pass'd under the Iron Chain at the Gate, and upon the Cane-Jobbers saying he was no Prisoner, but a Gentleman Visitant, was suffer'd to get off by the Turnkey and Guard, to whom, it is said he gave somewhat to Drink. He is now said to be very intent upon his Studies at *St. Omers*.

Soon after this the King arrived, and took upon himself the Administration of the Government, upon which, tho' the *Swedes* were preparing to invade the Nation, and Conspiracies at Home were said

to

to be forming to joyn them in that Attempt, Reports flew about of a design'd Act of Indemnity, which nothing but such wicked Contrivances as the abovemention'd, could have defer'd so long as to this Time of Writing. Since the King himself, even in his Speech and elsewhere, seem'd to intimate his desire of shewing Mercy. Yet Mr. *George Flint*, of whom I might have spoken much more, as the Author of the Weekly Paper, called, *The Shift Shifted*, which he continued to write even in Prison, in Defiance of those that sat at the Helm, would not trust to that Prospect of being Releas'd. He had been drawn in, after the Government had found Means wholly to suppress that Weekly Paper, and after he at his Tryal for another, where he was Sentenc'd to a certain Fine, and Imprisonment for a Year, to write a certain Scheme whereby the Pretender was said to be intended to be brought in, and the Nation again Embroil'd in unnatural and intestine Commotions. A certain Wine-Cooper whose Name begins with an *M.* and has an *x* in the middle of it, is given out to be his Inveagler, after which he turn'd Evidence; so that a Bill of High-Treason being found against poor *Flint*, he was to have been try'd for it, at the Sessions in the Week after *Easter*, before which he had Time to Project his Escape, which he is reported to have made in a Footman's Habit, undisc-

cover'd

cover'd till Two or Three Days after, his Wife having told the Keeper who came to ask for him, That he was dangerously sick in Bed, and not fit to be disturb'd: For which Fidelity to her Husband, who is now beyond the Seas, she was put into the Condemn'd Hold, and us'd after the most barbarous manner, to extort a Confession.

So much for the Time I continued in this Mansion of Sorrow and Despair. The Happy Hour was now come for my enlargement, my Imprisonment having been much longer than the Suspension Act allowed, by Reason that I could not, till then, find the Sureties required by the Government, to appear when called for: Therefore, after taking Leave of all my Fellow Prisoners in the *Press-yard*, who, I dare say will be brought over to such a Temperament of Mind, by the Gracious Indulgence and Pardon they lie now under Expectance of, as never to be brought thither for the like Crimes; and having pay'd my Rent and Fees to the last Farthing, I took Coach, and turn'd my Back upon a Place, the Inside of which is scarce worth any Honest Man's Sight.

A P P E N D I X.

*Having met with the following Original Letter;
I must desire the Reader to place it among
others of the same Nature in Chapter 9.*

My Lord,

‘ **W**Hat Mr. *Carpenter* and Mr. *Wills*
‘ have declared at Lord *Wintoun’s*
‘ Tryal, concerning the Surrender at *Pre-*
‘ *ston*, has put me, and several others,
‘ upon Examining after what Manner Re-
‘ bels have been Treated, who did Sur-
‘ render at Discretion; and whatever
‘ Power, either the General to whom they
‘ surrender’d, or the Prince whose Subjects
‘ they were, had over their Lives after
‘ such Surrender; We are very well as-
‘ sur’d, that the late Wars in *Spain* and
‘ *Hungary*, do not afford an Instance of
‘ the Prisoners being put to Death, who
‘ did surrender at Discretion; nay, even
‘ *Catinat* and his Followers in the *Cevennes*,
‘ who submitted to the *Mareschal de Villars*,
‘ enjoyed their Lives, and Liberty to go
‘ where they pleas’d, except those who re-
‘ turn’d into that Country, and took up
‘ Arms again.

‘ If this be true, my Lord, and that
‘ no Rebels have been Tryed for their Lives
‘ after surrendring at Discretion, during
‘ the Course of these late Wars, our Case
‘ is

is certainly very hard, and I must beg leave to refer it to your Lordship, what Foreign Countries and Princes will say or think of our Treatment ; and moreover to observe, that the Common Practice of Generals in such Cases, may be allowed to soften the Explanation of Surrendring at Discretion ; but it must be a skilful Hand that can touch so sore a Part in the Reputation of the Government, without inflaming the Wound : My Experience of your Humanity and Love for your Country, makes me take the Liberty to Write with this Freedom, in Hopes that you will use what Arguments you think most likely to preserve so many Unfortunate Persons from unparallel'd Destruction, and to prevent *England* from giving to other Nations so fatal an Example of unusual Rigor and Severity ; To Espouse the Cause of your unfortunate Country-men, and the Honour of your Country, is an Undertaking worthy no less an Unbias'd Patriot, than you have always proved, and the Success would be Glorious, &c.

It cannot be unseasonable nor disagreeable to the Reader, to subjoyn to this a true Copy of a Letter sent from several Lords, and the Chiefs of Highland Clans, to his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, which is as follows :

May it please your Grace,

THE unfortunate Circumstances our Country is reduced to by our late Divisions, are such as must move the Pity and Compassion of any true born Scots-man, and we have just Ground to expect, that the Generosity which every Man allows to shine bright in your Grace's Character, will make it very disagreeable to you, to see your Country in this situation. The many and great Hardships we groan under since the late Union, were not the least Motives of making us take Arms : And however our Judgments may have been mistaken in the way of procuring Redress, our Intentions must, we think, be allowed to be honourable, and what became a People who have for many Years preserv'd their Independency.

Whatever Hardships and unexpected Accidents have attended our Undertaking we are the more easy under them ; that we were always resolved to bear the worst and were willing to hazard our Lives in a Cause which appeared to us so just. But were our Lives the only Consideration, we would not have given you Grace the Trouble of this Letter. That which touch'd us more sensibly is, the Melancholly View we have of so many Old and Worthy Families as must fall with us, which makes us wish, for the

good

ood of our Country, that Peace and Tranquility were restored, and that we should all return with thankfulness and Affection to one another, that might be the Entertainment of so many People linked together by Blood and Relation. This Reflection we are confident will touch your Grace as much as it does us, and make you use your Endeavours to obtain so happy an end, which would be best effectuated, should we expect the Government would grant an Indemnity to such as are willing to live peaceably at Home, and Liberty for those to go Abroad, who are desirous to pass the rest of their Lives beyond sea.

It may not, perhaps, be unworthy the Government, to accept the Acknowledgements of so many Noblemen and Gentlemen as have appear'd here in Arms; and the Experience of all Ages shews, what a Body of Men, reduced to despair may do; and we should consider as the greatest Hardship that can be imposed on us, were we forced to Act a part of that Nature, which must prove fatal to our Country.

Your Grace has now an Opportunity offer'd you of shewing your Affections to it, and at the same Time doing considerable Service to the Government, by securing the Obedience of so many Noblemen

men and Gentlemen, by the Ties of Gratitude, which must be consider'd very strong by Men of Honour.

And we hope these Motives will prevail with your Grace to give us a speedy Answer, and let us know what are the Resolutions of the Government concerning us, and whether we may expect Indemnity for what is past, and Protection for our Lives and Fortunes, in Time coming, which we consider as the only Means we now Aim at for the Peace and Welfare of our Country, by preserving so many honourable Families as are engaged in this Affair. We are fond to make your Grace the Instrument of procuring our Safety, and to owe you a favour which will always oblige us to acknowledge our selves,

May it please your Grace,
Your Grace's most Humble
and most Obedient Servant

Rathen in Badenoch,
Feb. 16. 1716.

Signed by
D. M. Donald, Robertson, Alexander Mackenzie, Mack Donald, Douglas Clan Ranald, J^a. Ogilvie, Alexander Gordon, Linlithgow, Southesk, Gordon of Glengile.

